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# Historical Activities in Mississippi in the Nineteenth Century

By CHARLES S. SYDNOR

The earliest of all histories of Mississippi was a small volume printed at Salisbury, North Carolina, in 1801. It had been written by James Hall, a Presbyterian minister, after a four and a half months' "mission to the Mississippi Territory" to which he had been commissioned by the General Assembly. Although this *Brief History of the Mississippi Territory* is now a valuable historical source, it was then a description rather than a history; for only a dozen small pages were given to history, and the facts Hall set forth were taken, so he confessed, "from a history of Louisiana, written by a Frenchman, of which I had only a cursory glance while in the territory."<sup>1</sup>

As meager as was this history, it was scarcely improved on for over fifty years. However, some of the historical efforts of the first half of the nineteenth century will be noted. In 1829, a Mississippi newspaper, the *Woodville Republican*, published in three installments a short "History of Mississippi" that extended from the period of colonization to the administration of Governor W. C. C. Claiborne,<sup>2</sup> but this was only a garbled reprint of parts of Major Amos Stoddard's *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*.<sup>3</sup> In the 1830's Joseph H. Ingraham added a few historical notes to his *South-West*,<sup>4</sup> and Henry

<sup>1</sup> Two copies of this are known to be extant, one in the Library of Congress and the other in the University of North Carolina Library. The work was reprinted in the Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications* (Oxford, 1898-), IX (1906), 539-76.

<sup>2</sup> These three installments average four columns in length. *Woodville Republican*, November 17, 24, December 1, 1829.

<sup>3</sup> Philadelphia, 1812.

<sup>4</sup> Two vols., New York, 1835.

Vose, a literary freak of the region, wrote a few short biographical and historical articles for Mississippi newspapers. He was said to have left upon his death in 1837 some 2000 manuscript pages of historical writings.<sup>5</sup> In this same decade Mann Butler, who had done substantial work in the field of Kentucky history, published two very trivial articles on Mississippi history.<sup>6</sup> Much more valuable than any of these historical efforts were Albert J. Pickett's *History of Alabama*<sup>7</sup> and the *History of the Valley of the Mississippi*,<sup>8</sup> written by John W. Monette, a physician of Washington, Mississippi. Nevertheless, neither of these could be called a history of Mississippi although both contained much information about early events in Mississippi.

In 1851, John M. Chilton, a lawyer of Vicksburg,<sup>9</sup> published a "History of Mississippi" in *De Bow's Review*. The first four installments (all in volume X), covering the period from De Soto's expedition to the appointment of Governor Winthrop Sargent, were simply a rearrangement of data taken from Monette. In writing the three final installments (all in volume XI), which were devoted entirely to Sargent's administration, Chilton made use of the archives in the office of the secretary of state of Mississippi.<sup>10</sup> However, Chilton's work, like its predecessors, was brief and unsubstantial; Hall's little book had not been greatly improved upon in the fifty years following its publication.

Certain characteristics of the history of Mississippi partly explain the comparatively indifferent attitude of Mississippians towards their history. Whereas historical interest had been powerfully stimulated in each of the older Southern states by pride in its share in the American Revolution,<sup>11</sup> Mississippi had contributed very little to independence.

<sup>5</sup> *Woodville Republican*, December 8, 1832; August 22, 1835; February 18, 25, March 11, April 15, 22, July 22, 1837.

<sup>6</sup> *South-Western Journal* (Natchez, 1837-1838), I (1837-1838), 41-42, 46-47. Butler had published a *History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* at Louisville in 1834.

<sup>7</sup> Charleston, 1851.

<sup>8</sup> Two vols., New York, 1846.

<sup>9</sup> Henry S. Foote, *The Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest* (St. Louis, 1876), 105; *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1891), I, 120.

<sup>10</sup> *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1880), X (1851), 611.

<sup>11</sup> E. Merton Coulter, "What the South Has Done About Its History," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), II (1936), 7-8.

Furthermore, in the Colonial period it was a small and insignificant pawn, if judged by population and wealth, in the rivalry of world powers; hence the course of events was complex and difficult to understand, yet it seemed relatively unimportant. The more important and interesting history of Mississippi after its acquisition by the United States was not reduced to writing until after 1850. Before that was done, the events of this period could be learned only by word of mouth from elderly men. In order that this knowledge would survive their own fast departing generation, a few of these men began to take steps to record this period of history.

One of the most active of these was B. L. C. Wailes, a planter and naturalist of Washington, Mississippi, who was a close friend of Dr. Monette. Wailes, after being engaged in a geological survey of the state, which had been authorized by the legislature, published in 1854 a *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi*.<sup>12</sup> Believing that a brief history of Mississippi would interest the planters, for whom the *Report* was primarily designed, Wailes devoted the first 116 pages to an "Historical Outline" of events in Mississippi up to the year 1798, and he injected some information about agricultural history in other parts of the volume. His chief printed sources were "the works of Martin, Stoddard, and Gayarré [and] . . . the Journal of Ellicott."<sup>13</sup> In addition, he borrowed from the Dunbar family the manuscript correspondence of William Dunbar, the early scientist;<sup>14</sup> he used the land office records in his own town of Washington; and in Natchez he spent several days with the Spanish archives, although he confessed that,

<sup>12</sup> The words "E. Barksdale, State Printer" appear on the title page, despite the fact that the work was printed in Philadelphia by Lippincott, Gambo and Company. B. L. C. Wailes, *Diary*, October 18, 1854. Twenty-eight volumes of this diary have recently been acquired by Duke University from Mrs. Charles G. Brandon of Natchez; another eight volumes are in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

<sup>13</sup> B. L. C. Wailes, *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi, Embracing a Sketch of the Social and Natural History of the State* ([Philadelphia], 1854), xvi-xvii.

<sup>14</sup> Copy of letter from Wailes to Field Dunbar, May 13, 1854, in Wailes' letterbook entitled, "Correspondence and Reports Relating to the Geological Survey of Mississippi." A typed copy of this letterbook is in the Duke University Library.

Wailes copied parts of some of Dunbar's letters into a notebook which is now in the Library of Congress. For this information I am indebted to Mr. William B. Hamilton of Duke University.

"had time permitted," the latter "might have been more profitably explored."<sup>15</sup> He also supplemented this written material by interviews with a number of older settlers of the Natchez region asking them especially about early agriculture.<sup>16</sup> Because of this more thorough investigation of the sources, the historical section of Wailes' *Agriculture and Geology* far surpassed all of the earlier histories of Mississippi.

However, Wailes himself knew that his history was far from being perfect. He had been compelled to work hurriedly and amid great distractions. Furthermore, his history, like its predecessors, closed at the time the flag of the United States came to the Natchez country. Because of this latter defect he was much interested in a letter he received on August 23, 1858, from Benjamin W. Sanders, state librarian of Mississippi, requesting aid in the preparation of a history of Mississippi from 1798 to 1850. Although the letter flattered Wailes as a potential historian, he declined the literary partnership. One reason was that "the grammar and spelling of Mr. Sanders letter" caused Wailes "to doubt his fitness for such an undertaking."<sup>17</sup> However, subsequent events show that Wailes must have thought: If the state librarian cannot write history he might nevertheless be useful in gathering and preserving its sources.

About two months afterward, having decided to go to Jackson, Wailes "commenced rough draft of Constitution and Act of Incorporation of Historical Society of Mississippi." The morning after his arrival he went to the capitol and had a long conversation with Sanders. The next afternoon he returned to the librarian's room where he revised the draft of the constitution. He next endeavored to enlist the interest of several members of the legislature in a bill of incorporation. There was also some discussion of a means of publishing the transactions of the society. The *Mississippi Planter and Mechanic*, then being published

<sup>15</sup> Wailes, *Agriculture and Geology*, xvi-xvii; Diary, April 13, December 9, 1853; June 26, 1854.

<sup>16</sup> See Wailes, Diary, during spring of 1853. The care he gave to this work is shown by his "preparing heads of interrogatories [sic] to be put to Mr. John Hutchins and other aged and early settlers in the Country." Diary, March 22, 1853. This page of notes and questions is in the Wailes Papers in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

<sup>17</sup> Wailes, Diary, August 23, 1858.

in Jackson,<sup>18</sup> was considered, but the irregularity of its publication together with the poor typography and the low grade of paper caused it to be ruled out. Also, there was strong objection to the editorial management of Dr. Martin W. Philips. The suggestion was made that the historical society ought to have a magazine of its own, with Ethelbert Barksdale as its publisher.

A meeting was called for the organization of the Mississippi Historical Society on November 9, 1858. Unfortunately, a misprint in the published notice of the meeting created confusion as to its exact time, and only a few persons came. But among these few were six Baptist ministers led by the Reverend William Carey Crane of Panola County, who sought to capture the embryonic society. Although the belated arrival of some of Wailes' friends secured for him the presidency, Crane was made first vice-president.

The constitution that was adopted provided for an annual meeting of the society the second Monday of each November, when the president was to deliver his annual address. In fulfilling other constitutional requirements, Wailes appointed Crane to prepare an address and C. P. Smith and J. F. H. Claiborne to prepare "essays" to be presented at the 1859 meeting.<sup>19</sup> The new president also prepared newspaper notices of the creation of the society and saw the act of incorporation started on its successful passage through the legislative mill.<sup>20</sup>

The small room in the capitol adjoining the state library on the south was set apart by the legislature for the collection the society proposed to make. This arrangement seemed convenient because Sanders, the

<sup>18</sup> This publication is not listed in Winifred Gregory (ed.), *Union List of Serials*, or in Gertrude C. Gilmer, *Checklist of Southern Periodicals to 1861*. The only known fragment, which is Vol. II, No. 5 (May, 1858), is in the Duke University Library.

<sup>19</sup> Mississippi Historical Society, *Constitution and Other Documents in Relation to the State Historical Society of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1859), 6. The act of incorporation and some other documents relating to this organization can be found in Z. T. Leavell, "The Ante-Bellum Historical Society of Mississippi," in *Mississippi Historical Society, Publications*, VIII (1904), 227-37.

<sup>20</sup> Wailes, Diary, November 7-13, 1858; *Laws of Mississippi*, 1858, pp. 161-62.

Notices about the organization of the society appeared in the *Natchez Daily Courier*, November 17, 1858, and the *Historical Magazine* (New York, 1857-1875), III (1859), 109-10.

state librarian, was chosen librarian and corresponding secretary of the society.<sup>21</sup> The first manuscripts placed in this room were "several large & well filled and very neatly kept letter Books containing all the Executive Correspondence of the several Governors Sargent, Claiborne, Williams and Holmes from the establishment of the Territorial Government in 1798 to 1817; when the State Constitution was formed. These [Wailes added] contain a perfect treasure of early history and it fills one with terror to reflect upon the almost utter obliteration of our annals which the loss or destruction of these would occasion."<sup>22</sup>

Under the double responsibility of having led in the organization of the society and of being its president, Wailes devoted much time in the next twelve months to collecting historical documents. Living in the section of the state that was richest in such materials, he found the homes of his neighbors excellent hunting ground. For example, he discovered that Mrs. Olivia Dunbar owned portraits of Governor David Holmes and of Senator Thomas H. Williams. From Mrs. White Turpin he secured for the society a number of letters written by Holmes, Harman Blennerhassett, and others. In addition, Mrs. Turpin lent him a copperplate engraving of Holmes, which had been made near the beginning of the nineteenth century by Fevret de Saint-Mémin. Wailes had a number of impressions struck from this plate in New Orleans, which he used in the following manner to advertise the society.<sup>23</sup> He persuaded the editor of the Natchez *Free Trader* to publish an address from the society to the public and to print some additional copies in circular form, for which Wailes paid five dollars from his own pocket. He then sent a circular and one of the engravings of Governor Holmes to each of a number of persons whom he hoped would become members and contribute historical documents.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Mississippi Historical Society, *Constitution and Other Documents*, 5-6, 14-15.

<sup>22</sup> Wailes, Diary, November 8, 1858.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, December 8, 13, 1858. See Fillmore Norfleet, "Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Mémin," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), XVI, 305.

The copperplate of Holmes has disappeared; an impression is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

<sup>24</sup> Wailes, Diary, February 10, 1859.

Realizing the historical value of old newspapers, Wailes sought to procure some files of Andrew Marschalk's papers that were in the possession of the descendants of this pioneer printer of Mississippi.<sup>25</sup> Although Wailes failed in this, he acquired enough old Mississippi newspapers from various other private collections to keep him busy several days arranging them.<sup>26</sup>

Books as well as newspapers were sought. Jacob Thompson, secretary of the interior, presented Wailes with a copy of the Reverend James Hall's *Brief History of the Mississippi Territory*.<sup>27</sup> Two days after this first history of Mississippi was received, Wailes was on the trail of what appears to have been the first book ever printed in Mississippi with the exception of some of the territorial laws. This was John Henderson's *Paine Detected, or the Unreasonableness of Paine's Age of Reason*. Wailes was so fortunate as to secure a copy of this for the library of the historical society.<sup>28</sup>

In addition to collecting books, newspapers, and portraits, Wailes diligently sought manuscripts bearing on the early history of Mississippi. Beginning at home, he arranged the papers of his own father. The most interesting item, which was Levin Wailes' journal and field notes of the survey of the Choctaw boundary in 1809, he had hand-

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, January 17, 1859. Probably these were the Marschalk Papers purchased by the present-day Mississippi Historical Society in 1911 or 1912 from Miss Mary Stewart, a descendant of Marschalk. Dunbar Rowland, *Tenth Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi* (Nashville, 1912), 45.

<sup>26</sup> Wailes, Diary, January 31, February 17, 28, April 6, 1859. Wailes knew of one exceedingly rich private collection of newspapers in Natchez, for in his papers is a broadside catalogue of more than 100 bound volumes of newspapers dating from 1832 to 1855. They were in the library of Major Richard Edward of Natchez. Wailes Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

<sup>27</sup> Wailes, Diary, October 17, 1859; Wailes, Inaugural Address read before the Historical Society of Mississippi, Wailes Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

Thompson got this volume from D. S. Swain, president of the University of North Carolina. The writer has been unable to learn what became of this copy.

<sup>28</sup> Wailes, Diary, October 19, 1859; Wailes, Inaugural Address.

A description of Henderson's booklet can be found in Sydnor, "The Beginning of Printing in Mississippi," in *Journal of Southern History*, I (1935), 53-55. The copy Wailes discovered cannot now be located.

somely bound in morocco for presentation to the society.<sup>29</sup> He also decided to give to the society a very fine manuscript plan of Fort Mims that had been drawn by Benjamin F. Salvage soon after the massacre. Wailes had first seen this in 1814. A few years later it had come into his possession.<sup>30</sup>

Wailes persuaded Judge Edward Turner to donate the original constitution of the Mississippi Republican Society, which had been established at Greenville, in what is now Jefferson County, on November 27, 1802. "Desseminating knowledge on Political, Historical and Philosophical Subjects" was its avowed purpose, but its members were probably chiefly interested in the political success of the Republican party.<sup>31</sup>

Another manuscript secured by Wailes was the field book of the third regiment of Mississippi militia of Adams County covering the period from September, 1810, to April, 1812. A more important manuscript, which was "rescued from the waste of an old garret," was the original journal of the house of representatives of the Mississippi Territory for the session held in Washington in November and December, 1809. Governor Holmes' first message to the legislature, written in his own hand, had been stitched into the volume by the clerk. The journal contained a curious "protestation," signed by all twelve representatives and the officers of the house, who thereby sought to establish their innocence of the theft of certain papers from the files of the house.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Wailes, Diary, February 12, October 29, 1859. The location of this volume is unknown. However, a copy (249 large pages) made, probably in 1878, for J. F. H. Claiborne by W. N. Whitehurst is in the University of North Carolina collection of Claiborne Papers.

<sup>30</sup> Wailes, Inaugural Address.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* In a letter to Wailes dated April 6, 1859, Turner mentioned the organization of this society, of which he was the only surviving member. Wailes Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History. The location of the constitution is unknown.

<sup>32</sup> Wailes, Inaugural Address; Diary, March 29, 1859; draft of a letter on this subject, in Wailes' handwriting, in the Wailes Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

At least a part of the MS. House Journal for 1809 is in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, catalogued as Ser. D, Vol. XXX. If this was printed, no copy is known to exist.

Wailes acquired two manuscripts concerning Thomas Freeman. One was the commission signed by George Washington and Timothy Pickering on May 24, 1796, appointing Freeman surveyor of the boundary between the United States and Spanish Florida.<sup>33</sup> Much more informative was the six-page letter written April 14, 1804, by Thomas Jefferson to Freeman "directing him to collect at Natchez the necessary instruments, outfit and supplies and to conduct an expedition . . . up the Red river to its source." Wailes remarked: "This is an interesting document from the extreme minuteness of its details . . . the duties to be performed are pointed out embracing notices of the soil, climate and productions; the Indian tribes to be encountered, their habits, language, manners & forming in this respect a model for the guidance of any well organized expedition for scientific exploration."<sup>34</sup>

These were merely the most important manuscripts Wailes collected. In addition he accumulated about a hundred letters from seventy different writers among whom were Thomas Jefferson, Timothy Pickering, Albert Gallatin, and Joseph Meigs, as well as most of the territorial governors and delegates to Congress. Others were signed by Generals James Wilkinson, Wade Hampton, Thomas Flournoy, Leonard Covington, and George S. Gaines, and such persons as Aaron Burr, Harman Blennerhassett, José Vidal, and Daniel Clark.<sup>35</sup>

In May, six months after the organization of the Mississippi Historical Society, Wailes packed a box full of the manuscript and printed material he had collected, which he shipped to Sanders so that it could be placed in the society's archives.<sup>36</sup>

Naturally, Wailes found some documents that could not be acquired by the society either because they were in public depositories or because the owners would not part with them. Among these were the corre-

<sup>33</sup> This is now filed among the "Commissions" in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>34</sup> Wailes, Inaugural Address. This document is in the "Personal Papers, Miscellaneous, Thos. Freeman," in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>35</sup> Wailes, Inaugural Address. Although letters from a number of these persons are now in the Wailes Papers in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, it is evident that a part of the original collection has been scattered or lost.

<sup>36</sup> Wailes, Diary, November 28, 1859.

spondence of Isaac Briggs, the first surveyor of public land south of Tennessee; the minutes of the oral testimony taken before the board of commissioners for settling land claims in the Mississippi Territory; and the diary of William Dunbar.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to these documents that he saw and handled, Wailes was on the trail of other items that would be of inestimable value to historians of the Old Southwest if he had found them and placed them in safekeeping. John C. Humphreys of Port Gibson told Wailes that he was the owner of the papers of Dr. Samuel Dorsey, who had been a surgeon in the Spanish army in the Natchez region. Humphreys promised to give these to the society, and he also said he could get the papers of Daniel Burnet, whom Wailes had known many years before. Burnet had been employed by the Spanish government to assist Minor and Dunbar in surveying the boundary between West Florida and the Mississippi Territory. Later he served the United States as a commissioner for holding the treaty conference of 1818 with the Choctaws; he was a leader of the democratic wing in the constitutional convention of 1817; he was for many years a member of the state legislature; and in 1826, shortly before his death, he was speaker of the house. His father had been in the service of Spain in Texas, and Wailes doubtless hoped to procure the papers of the father as well as of the son.<sup>38</sup>

Wailes also sought, apparently in vain, to locate in Louisiana the nephews of Peter Bryan Bruin, one of the first judges of the Mississippi Territory, hoping that they might have his papers. Robert Percy promised to donate some of the papers of his father, who had been a midshipman in the British navy and was later an alcalde under the Spanish government in West Florida. Percy further offered to aid Wailes in securing such of the papers of William Dunbar as were in the possession of Henry Huntington.

<sup>37</sup> Wailes, *Inaugural Address*. Dunbar's diary for the years 1776-1780 has been published in Mrs. Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Life, Letters and Papers of William Dunbar* (Jackson, 1930), 23-74.

A collection of Isaac Briggs Papers was deposited in the Library of Congress in 1931, but whether these were the papers once seen by Wailes is unknown.

<sup>38</sup> Wailes, Diary, January 8, 1859; March 31, 1861; Mack Swearingen, *The Early Life of George Poindexter* (New Orleans, 1934), 147, 155.

Another friend of Wailes, William D. Postlethwaite, agreed to give the society the papers of his father, Samuel, who had come to Natchez in 1805 and had died of yellow fever about twenty-five years later. During part of those years he had been the second president of the first bank established in Mississippi. Among his papers was a diary he had kept during the time of the Aaron Burr trial.<sup>39</sup> Colonel F. Leigh Claiborne told Wailes that some of Governor W. C. C. Claiborne's papers were probably in the hands of a son who lived in New Orleans.<sup>40</sup>

Wailes was also anxious to find the papers of Mann Butler, a Kentuckian, who was interested in history. While conducting an academy at Port Gibson some years earlier, Butler had spent much time, so Wailes was told, "examining manuscripts and journals of the early settlers and obtaining documents with a view . . . to the writing of a more detailed history of the country." Wailes surmised that if the papers of Butler, who had since died in Missouri, could be found, much material relating to the early history of Mississippi might be recovered. One of the documents Butler was reported to have acquired was an excellent account of the futile revolution of the pro-British element at Natchez against the Spaniards in 1782. This paper was written by John Blommart, the "chief of the rebels."<sup>41</sup> However, Butler's chief acquisition in Mississippi was such of the William Dunbar papers "as he deemed useful," which he borrowed from the Dunbar family and did not return.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Wailes, Diary, January 8, 27, 1859.

Whether Wailes secured the Samuel Postlethwaite Papers is not stated. Certainly he did not get all of this family's historical treasures. In the fall of 1861 he spent some time examining the papers that were in the possession of A. J. Postlethwaite, a nephew of Samuel. As the latter was a son-in-law of William Dunbar, the scientist, there may have been some Dunbar Papers in the collection. While the historical value of the collection is unknown, it was at any rate voluminous; for after Wailes had examined and set aside what he considered the important letters in two trunks, he had to leave for later examination the contents of five or six more. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1861.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, January 27, 1859.

<sup>41</sup> Wailes, Inaugural Address.

<sup>42</sup> Letter of J. W. Monette to A. J. Pickett, June 9, 1847, in *Report of Alabama History Commission* (Montgomery, 1901), 170-71.

It is most regrettable that the documents Butler took from Mississippi were not recovered by the Mississippi Historical Society, because Butler's papers and books were all burned during the Civil War.

In addition to his own quests for documentary sources of Mississippi's history, Wailes sought to fire others with enthusiasm. He talked with Judge William L. Sharkey on this subject while dining with him at Vicksburg, and he tried to induce the Reverend John G. Jones of Jefferson County to investigate the lives of the Reverend Joseph Bullen, Doctor Hezekiah Balche, and Daniel Beasley.<sup>43</sup>

On a trip to the North during the summer of 1859, Wailes continued his historical investigations. In New York he visited the Astor Library and the library of the New York Historical Society.<sup>44</sup> He also visited James Parton, hoping to learn more about Aaron Burr. In return for what Parton could tell him, Wailes promised to write out his own recollections of an interview between Andrew Jackson and Silas Dinsmoor at the time of the making of the treaty of Doaks Stand in October, 1820.<sup>45</sup> After a visit to Philadelphia, where he examined books relating to the history of Mississippi in the library of the American Philosophical Society and in the Franklin Library,<sup>46</sup> Wailes came to Washington. There he called on Peter Force, the famous collector of early Americana, and on Joseph C. G. Kennedy, who was head of the Census Bureau. Kennedy showed his visitor a manuscript volume of letters to and from his grandfather, Andrew Ellicott, relating chiefly to his mission in Mississippi. He gave Wailes a three-page letter of instructions addressed on July 14, 1797, by Timothy Pickering to Ellicott at Natchez.<sup>47</sup> Kennedy also promised to collect from various sources a considerable number of letters to Ellicott written by many people in Mississippi.

<sup>43</sup> Wailes, Diary, April 10, 22, 1859. Fifteen years later Jones wrote a two-volume work entitled, *A Complete History of Methodism as Connected with the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville, 1908).

<sup>44</sup> Wailes, Diary, July 9, 13, 1859.

<sup>45</sup> Wailes fulfilled this promise, and Parton published Wailes' description of the incident. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 3 vols. (New York, 1859-1860), I, 359; II, 576-81. See, also, Wailes, Diary, April 6, 25, July 11, 1859.

<sup>46</sup> Wailes, Diary, June 29, July 16, 18, 1859.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, July 25, 1859; Wailes, Inaugural Address. The letter given to Wailes was marked "triplicate." The collection of Ellicott Papers that Wailes examined in Kennedy's home is probably the Ellicott collection purchased by the Library of Congress in 1931.

In such ways as these the president of the Mississippi Historical Society showed his interest in history during the twelve months after the society was organized. At the end of the year he went to Jackson, where he arrived on Saturday, November 12, to attend the first annual meeting. To his complete surprise, he found that two days earlier the society had been prematurely called to order by Crane, first vice-president, who had then "proceeded [according to a newspaper report] to deliver an address of rare beauty and elegance, full of valuable information concerning the early history of Mississippi, her rapid growth, her increasing wealth, her literature, her great men in the pulpit and at the bar, the beauty and elegance of Mississippi women, her statesmen, her military glory and military heroes—Jefferson Davis and John Anthony Quitman, to whom he paid noble tribute, as also to Geo. Poin-dexter and Alexander G. McNutt, and to that renouned [sic] and glorious orator, Sargent [sic] S. Prentiss, whose genius was developed and triumphs achieved on Mississippi soil, and whose last breath was drawn within her borders." During this oration, so the newspaper added, Crane "was interrupted by frequent rounds of applause."<sup>48</sup>

Wailes had brought with him his own carefully composed "Inaugural Address"<sup>49</sup> in which he described the historical materials he had located, both manuscript and printed, and told about the clues he was following in the hope of locating other manuscript sources. The paper was too heavy with facts to have been carried on flights of oratory, but at the moment neither the worth nor the popular appeal of Wailes' address was of any consequence. There was no meeting to which it could be presented.

An additional embarrassment was in store for Wailes. J. F. H. Claiborne, it will be recalled, was one of the two persons appointed to read "essays" before the society at this meeting. In March he had informed

<sup>48</sup> Vicksburg *Weekly Whig*, November 23, 1859. Crane's address was published the following February in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, 1834-1864), XXX (1860), 81-91.

The constitution placed the date of each annual meeting on the second Monday in November. In 1859 this was November 14; Crane had had his meeting on the tenth.

<sup>49</sup> Two manuscript copies are in the Wailes Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

Wailes that he could not fulfill this task because he planned at that date to be in Washington, D. C., gathering materials for a history of Mississippi and a life of John A. Quitman.<sup>50</sup> Wailes had thereupon appointed Colonel Isaac M. Patridge, editor of the Vicksburg *Whig*, to supply Claiborne's place. Patridge chose as his subject the history of the press in Mississippi, and Wailes mailed to him data he himself had collected about early printing.<sup>51</sup> Wailes must have been exceedingly uncomfortable when Patridge appeared with his essay on Wednesday, the sixteenth. Crane's meeting was nearly a week past. When the two men were introduced—it was their first meeting—Patridge was chagrined to learn that there would be no opportunity for him to read his paper. Although Wailes explained the "blunders and precipitancy" of Crane, he observed that as Patridge departed for Vicksburg the next morning he was "seemingly in a rather bad humor of which he had some cause but none through any remissness on my part."<sup>52</sup> However, being a newspaper editor, Patridge could print his article even though he found no opportunity to read it before an audience. Thus, this very important source of information about the early press in Mississippi remains as one of the fruits of the Mississippi Historical Society.<sup>53</sup>

While Wailes was suffering from the embarrassment of his experience with Patridge, he was facing the depressing fact that only three other persons had paid membership fees to the society, and all three had paid on an annual basis. He therefore cancelled his own life membership, for which the fee was twenty dollars, and changed to a yearly basis.<sup>54</sup> His eyes were at last open to the fact that there was scarcely any interest among Mississippians in the historical society. This interest he had earlier overestimated, partly because of the intensity of his own zeal and partly because his social position had secured for him a courteous hearing when he discussed historical sources with the

<sup>50</sup> Wailes, Diary, March 25, 1859.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, April 5, 22, August 20, 1859.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, November 17, 1859.

<sup>53</sup> Vicksburg *Weekly Whig*, June 20, 1860; *De Bow's Review*, XXIX (1860), 500-509; Sydnor, "Beginning of Printing in Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, I, 50, n. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Wailes, Diary, January 24, November 12, 1859.

planters and professional men of his region. Realizing that this was probably the end of the society, he instructed Sanders, who was resigning the state librarianship, to box up the papers and books he had sent him in May and leave them in the custody of the new librarian.<sup>55</sup> A year later, in the fall of 1860, Wailes turned a deaf ear to Crane, who urged him to attempt another annual meeting in order that the charter might be saved.<sup>56</sup>

Fortunately, the death of the society did not destroy Wailes' interest in history. It is true he was less zealous as a collector, although he tried to procure the papers of Thomas Batchelor, who was of some prominence in the territorial period of Mississippi's history and was a member of the constitutional convention of 1817.<sup>57</sup> He also continued to collect data concerning Burr and Blennerhassett.<sup>58</sup> But as his zeal as a collector of documents waned, his energy as a writer of history increased. In the last three years of his life, despite failing health and wartime disturbances, he wrote on three subjects: the history of Jefferson College, the life of Governor Winthrop Sargent,<sup>59</sup> and the life of his own father-in-law, General Leonard Covington. Whether he finished papers on the first two subjects is unknown, but his *Memoir of Leonard Covington* was completed in July, 1862. The troubrous times prevented Wailes from publishing it in the remaining four months of his life. However, the manuscript of sixty-seven pages was preserved and was at last published in 1928.<sup>60</sup>

Wailes had been urged by his associates in the Mississippi Historical Society to write a life of Covington;<sup>61</sup> therefore this biography is one of the fruits of that society. Another product of the society was Patridge's article on early printing in Mississippi. Furthermore, the society

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, November 28, 1859.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, October 18, 1860.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, November 16, 1859.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, December 31, 1861; June 9, 1862.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, June 9, July 5, 9, August 6, 8, 1862.

<sup>60</sup> B. L. C. Wailes, *Memoir of Leonard Covington*, edited by Nellie Wailes Brandon and W. M. Drake (privately printed, Natchez, 1928). To the *Memoir*, which extends through page 39, the editors generously added 21 pages of letters by General Covington written chiefly about the time of his move to the Mississippi Territory.

<sup>61</sup> Wailes, *Covington*, [5].

left as a heritage for later historians a small but priceless collection of manuscripts and printed historical sources.<sup>62</sup> These products are more valuable than might have been expected from an organization of so brief a life and so inglorious an end. But there were yet other good results. The legislature of Mississippi was persuaded to aid in preserving the state's history. Less than a month after the historical society was chartered a joint resolution declared that in the state library there was only one copy, and that unbound and in loose sheets, of the acts of the territorial legislature for each of the years 1805, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, and 1816. The legislature therefore made provision for binding them, and it authorized the state library to acquire ten copies of the acts of each session of the state legislature.<sup>63</sup> Also, the legislature accepted, from the executor of the estate of Mrs. Olivia Dunbar, portraits of David Holmes and Thomas H. Williams.<sup>64</sup> Finally, it authorized the copying from the British State Paper Office of "all documents relating to the country now embraced and lying within the present limits of the State of Mississippi, formerly known as the Natchez District during British domination." These transcripts were to "be deposited in the archives of the State for future preservation and reference."<sup>65</sup>

Strange to say, J. F. H. Claiborne, who has often been called the chief historian of Mississippi, seems to have taken little part in the work of the Mississippi Historical Society even though he was at that time

<sup>62</sup> No catalogue of the society's archives has been discovered. In October, 1860, the collection was still housed in the room adjoining the library in the capitol (Wailes, Diary, October 18, 1860) where it probably remained until 1896. About this date part of the archives of the state were removed from the old library because the weight of the books and papers was thought dangerous to the justices of the Supreme Court who met in a room beneath. All this, of course, was in the old capitol building. Dunbar Rowland, *First Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1902), 18.

It should be noted that only part of the material collected by Wailes was placed in the society's archives. Of the remainder, part has been retained by his descendants, part has been lost, and part has found its way to public depositories. The earlier footnotes in this paper will throw some light on this subject.

<sup>63</sup> *Laws of Mississippi*, 1858, pp. 233-34.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 1859, p. 364.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 188-89.

diligently writing history. For this reason he has been seldom mentioned thus far in this paper; nor will it be necessary to devote as much space to him as his importance merits because reasonably full discussions of his historical activities have already been published.<sup>66</sup> Claiborne was not present when the historical society was organized;<sup>67</sup> he was unable to accept the place proffered him on the program of the meeting that was planned for November, 1859; and there is no evidence of his having helped build up the library or archives of the society beyond sending Wailes two manuscript letters.<sup>68</sup>

Undoubtedly, the society was crippled by Claiborne's failure to give it his wholehearted support, both because he was socially influential, and because he possessed the best privately owned collection of documents in Mississippi. He was the son of General F. L. Claiborne of Creek War fame; the grandson of Colonel Anthony Hutchins of colonial and early territorial eminence; the nephew of W. C. C. Claiborne, governor of the Mississippi and Louisiana territories; and the cousin of Benjamin Watkins Leigh of Virginia. The "time-worn papers and documents" of the first three men he inherited. To this rich store he added the William Dunbar Papers as a result of his marriage to Martha Dunbar. Other papers he acquired by purchase, and he also collected memoirs from his many friends. His social heritage and his residence near Natchez made him acquainted with the Whig leaders; his journalistic interests, his travels over the state, and his adherence

<sup>66</sup> The most extended sketch of Claiborne was written by Franklin L. Riley for the Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, VII (1903), 217-44. A briefer but more recent account is Franklin L. Riley, "John Francis Hamtramck Claiborne," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 112-13.

<sup>67</sup> See the preamble to the constitution of the society and the names of those who signed this document.

<sup>68</sup> Wailes, Diary, March 25, 1859.

The writer is aware that Claiborne has been considered the leading spirit in the Mississippi Historical Society of 1858. Leavell, "The Ante-Bellum Historical Society of Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, VIII, 228-233; William H. Weathersby, "The Preservation of Mississippi History," in *North Carolina Historical Review* (Raleigh, 1924-), V (1928), 141. There seems to be no proof of his primacy except the fallacious argument: Claiborne was the chief student of the history of Mississippi, therefore he must have been the most active member of the historical society.

to the Democratic party brought him in contact with public men in the newer parts of Mississippi.

Claiborne applied himself zealously to the study of his historical treasures. In 1860 he published in two volumes his *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*. He also wrote a "History of the Southwest" which was destroyed in manuscript when the steamboat on which it was being transported was sunk. Part of this was reconstructed from memory and published in 1860 as the *Life and Times of Gen. Sam. Dale*.<sup>69</sup> Twenty years later he published the first volume of *Mississippi, as a Province, Territory and State*,<sup>70</sup> which remains as the most important single source of early Mississippi history. Then followed another literary catastrophe. His home "Dunbarton" was burned, and with it the manuscript that was to have been published as the second volume of his *Mississippi*.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> This and his *Quitman* were both published in New York.

<sup>70</sup> Jackson, 1880.

<sup>71</sup> Most of the source material collected by Claiborne is today divided among three places: the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, the Library of Congress, and the University of North Carolina Library. A catalogue of the Claiborne Papers in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (these were formerly located at the University of Mississippi) can be found in Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, V (1902), 203-27.

How did this mass of source material escape destruction when the second volume of Claiborne's history of Mississippi was burned? The most plausible explanation is that his historical "work shop" at "Dunbarton" was a yard office detached from the house proper. J. D. Shields, *Life and Times of Sargent Smith Prentiss* (Philadelphia, 1883), 27. Also, some fragments of the second volume have been preserved in various ways. In the papers at the University of North Carolina are what seem to be the first drafts of chapters on Confederate military history. An abridgment of his chapter on the early press in Mississippi was printed in *Proceedings of the Mississippi Press Association, from its Organization, May, 1866 to May, 1884* (Jackson, 1885), 222-32. Douglas Walworth's sketch of the military career of General W. T. Martin, which was prepared for Claiborne's second volume, can be found in the *Natchez Daily Democrat*, June 8, 1908; March 17, 1910.

Claiborne gained much information directly from those whose deeds had made history. In fact, he sometimes requested prominent men to write their own biographical sketches, subject, of course, to his editorship. The lengthy sketch of Jacob Thompson was secured in this way, having been dictated by Thompson to a niece after it had been requested by Claiborne. Dorothy Oldham, "Life of Jacob Thompson" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Mississippi Library). Likewise, in the Claiborne Papers at the University of North Carolina is a manuscript sketch of Henry S. Foote evidently prepared in a somewhat similar way. A sketch of Governor David Holmes, written for Claiborne by Judge

While in the depths of disappointment over the fiasco of the Mississippi Historical Society, Wailes laid part of the blame on Claiborne. He wrote: "It is evident that [Sanders'] former zeal & connection with [the society] was to gather materials for a history which he still professes to be engaged in writing but I suspect [it] is all humbug and that Claiborne is using him for his own purposes—Neither of them now I think wish to see any collections made that will be open or accessible to anyone but themselves—"<sup>72</sup>

Except for the bitter tone of Wailes' comment, this appraisal of Claiborne's attitude toward the society seems to have been correct. Livingston Mimms, recording secretary of the historical society, said that Sanders was apparently the most active person in the organization of the society, but Mimms added that Claiborne "was the Phidias behind the screen."<sup>73</sup> A few days after Wailes had expressed his distaste for the historical activities of Sanders and Claiborne, another event strengthened his conviction that Sanders was more loyal as a collector of documents to Claiborne than to the historical society. Wailes asked Mrs. George Poindexter to donate to the society two letters from Governor Gerard C. Brandon to Governor Poindexter. She responded that Sanders had recently borrowed a box of Poindexter's correspondence from which he was selecting such documents as he thought Claiborne might find useful. With evident irritation she added that she was finding it difficult to persuade Sanders to return this material. When Wailes spoke to her a second time on this subject, the box of Poindexter's papers was still in the possession of Sanders; as a result, the letters could not be acquired for the historical society.<sup>74</sup>

D. H. Conrad, one of the governor's relatives, was published in Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, centenary series, IV (1921), 234-57.

While this procedure resulted in biased accounts of some men, it also effected the near exclusion of others. For example, Claiborne requested Judge Alexander M. Clayton to contribute the section on the early jurists of the state. He, having been more modest than most of his fellowmen, barely mentioned himself. Claiborne, unfortunately, failed to remedy this omission.

<sup>72</sup> Wailes, Diary, November 13, 1859.

<sup>73</sup> Leavell, "Ante-Bellum Historical Society of Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, VIII, 228, 233.

<sup>74</sup> Wailes, Diary, November 15-16, 1859. Add to this episode the fact that Sanders departed for Europe sometime within the next year, expecting to spend several years

Claiborne, despite the fact that he had not given much help to the Mississippi Historical Society, did not hesitate to make use of the archives left by that organization in the little room in the capitol,<sup>75</sup> which was another of the society's good fruits.

Although Wailes wrote but little history in comparison with Claiborne, there is nevertheless an interesting contrast in their historical viewpoints and interpretations. Claiborne's works have preserved a mass of historical information of very great importance to students of the Old Southwest. On the other hand they need correction in several respects. In the first place, Claiborne's strong sense of family loyalty caused him at several places to be unfair. For example, he was a grandson of Anthony Hutchins, one of the political storm centers of early territorial days. Among the chief opponents of Hutchins were Captain James Willing, Andrew Ellicott, and Governor Sargent. The most casual reader of Claiborne's history is impressed with his animus against these men.<sup>76</sup>

In the second place, Claiborne was a staunch Democrat. Although he spoke well of the Whig party,<sup>77</sup> nearly every Mississippi Whig either fared badly at his hands or was ignored. Seargent S. Prentiss, whatever his failings, certainly deserved more than a sentence. Chief Justice Sharkey ought not to have been dismissed with one paragraph of thinly veiled hostility. Although Claiborne was generous in the number of pages allotted to George Poindexter, his treatment of him was harsh and at times grossly unfair.<sup>78</sup> Finally, Claiborne made his history a

abroad (*ibid.*, October 18, 1860), and we then have a set of circumstances that may warrant another guess, but nothing more than a guess, in answer to a question that has occasionally puzzled students of Mississippi history: Who was the anonymous person from whom Claiborne purchased the Poindexter Papers? See Claiborne, *Mississippi*, 414.

<sup>75</sup> Leavell, "Ante-Bellum Historical Society of Mississippi," *loc. cit.*, VIII, 232; oral tradition among older students of Mississippi history. There is also some internal evidence: e.g., Claiborne reproduced in his *Dale*, p. 112, the Fort Mims map donated to the society by Wailes. Also, see n. 29 above.

<sup>76</sup> Claiborne, *Mississippi*, 160-219.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 408-409.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 397 ff. See Mack Swearingen, *Early Life of George Poindexter*, 21, n. 32, 87, n. 6.

vigorous defense of secession and of those who led Mississippi into that course.

Wailes, in contrast to Claiborne, was a Whig and a Unionist. He was especially interested in the history of the Natchez region, which Claiborne scarcely touched after the territorial period. As an additional contrast, Wailes seems to have been more interested in economic, social, and agricultural history than Claiborne, who wrote chiefly from a political viewpoint.<sup>79</sup>

Claiborne's interpretations and biases have influenced much of the subsequent historical writing about Mississippi. A history of Mississippi written from the viewpoint of a Whig would therefore be valuable as a complement and a corrective to Claiborne. Sanders once wrote that Wailes was reported to be collecting materials for a history of Mississippi.<sup>80</sup> Although Wailes never signified any intention of writing such a work, his historical senses were keener than those of any other Mississippi Whig, and he had access to letters, diaries, and newspapers by the trunkful.

Claiborne was more than seventy years old when his *Mississippi* was published in 1880. This was the last as well as the most important of his several historical productions; in a broader sense, it was also the last and most important work written on the history of Mississippi by the generation to which Wailes and Monette as well as Claiborne belonged. Furthermore, it was published after most of Claiborne's generation were dead—the generation that had been born when Mississippi was a young territory.

At the time of its publication Claiborne was, in respect to his historical interests, a lonely old man; for he seemed to be the only person in Mississippi who was interested in old books, newspapers, pamphlets, and manuscripts. It is true that in the 1870's and 1880's other men were writing personal reminiscences of "The War" and of the good old days before "The War." They were finding most of their material in

<sup>79</sup> Any criticism of Claiborne's omissions must necessarily be tempered by remembering his losses. In the ashes of the second volume of his *Mississippi* may have been the facts that critics object to his having omitted.

<sup>80</sup> Wailes, Diary, August 23, 1858.

the archives of their own memories and were seldom consulting the printed and manuscript historical documents that had fascinated Claiborne, Monette, and Wailes.<sup>81</sup>

About the end of the nineteenth century historical interests in Mississippi experienced a vigorous revival with activities and fruitions too numerous and important to be fairly stated and appraised within the limits of the present paper. The chief signs of the new day were the addition to the faculty of the University of Mississippi in 1897 of Franklin L. Riley, fresh from the seminars of Herbert B. Adams; the revival in 1898 of a Mississippi Historical Society that had been organized in 1890; the beginning of that society's valuable series of *Publications* in the year of its revival; the publication in 1900 of Thomas McAdory Owen's "Bibliography of Mississippi"; and the establishment of the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History in 1902 with Dunbar Rowland as its director.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Among those who wrote reminiscences of experiences and events in Mississippi were: W. H. Sparks, *The Memories of Fifty Years* (Philadelphia, 1870); Henry S. Foote, *Casket of Reminiscences* (Washington, 1874) and *Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest* (St. Louis, 1876); H. S. Fulkerson, *Random Recollections of Early Days in Mississippi* (Vicksburg, 1885); Reuben Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians* (Boston, 1889); F. A. Montgomery, *Reminiscences of a Mississippian in War and Peace* (Cincinnati, 1901).

<sup>82</sup> Letters of F. L. Riley to H. B. Adams, October 23, 1897, December 7, 1897, and October 8, 1900, copies of which were given to me by Professor W. Stull Holt of the Johns Hopkins University; *Annual Reports* of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Weathersby, "The Preservation of Mississippi History," *loc. cit.*, V, 141-50. Owen's bibliography is in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899 (Washington, 1900), I, 633-828.

# Ben Tillman's View of the Negro

*By FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS*

In the nineties of the last century Ben Tillman succeeded Wade Hampton and Matthew C. Butler as spokesman of South Carolina to the nation. Occupying a position of prominence in the United States Senate superior to that of any South Carolinian since the Civil War, and perhaps equal to that of any Southerner of his day, he won the attention of the American people between 1898 and 1909 by countless speeches on the race question. Almost every conceivable pretext was utilized by this assertive agitator to impose this issue upon the usually unwilling ears of the senators. He injected it into the debate over the status of the colonial possessions and over the appointment of Negroes to Federal office. From 1901 until 1909 he spent the greater part of the Senate recesses reiterating his view of the Negro before Chataqua audiences in every section of the United States. His emphatic manner of speech and his frequent invocations of the vulgarities of the South Carolina hustings always attracted large and interested crowds.

Tillman was dissatisfied with his predecessors' contradictory and unrealistic exposition of South Carolina's attitude toward its Negro majority. He cherished fervently the conviction that the Negro should be held in subjugation; and he was too honest intellectually, too "brutally frank," too anxious to be startling, to gloss over realities in the interest of interracial and intersectional harmony. He told the nation, in characteristically blunt language, that white South Carolina had triumphed over black South Carolina by the use of shotguns, election frauds and intimidations, and that white South Carolina was determined, if necessary, to maintain its supremacy by a reapplication of these methods. In order to justify this attitude, he boldly repudiated

the Jeffersonian and liberalistic clichés of his day in so far as they applied to the blacks, who, he declared, were incapable of exercising with sagacity the higher functions of civilization. This position was of course not original with Tillman; but he was the first responsible Southerner after Reconstruction to proclaim it elaborately.

Tillman's past experiences prepared him for this reactionary attitude. His first public acts had been blows for white supremacy. His long experience as a farmer had acquainted him intimately with the failings of Negro character. His reactionary views on the race question were one of the reasons why he had won political control of South Carolina in 1890. As governor and leader of his state he had, without mincing words, proclaimed undemocratic views concerning the blacks, and in the suffrage provisions of the South Carolina constitution of 1895 he had made these views into law.<sup>1</sup>

The major premise from which Tillman drew his conclusions concerning the Negro was that the African was biologically inferior to the white man. Although he admitted that Negroes in fact were men and not baboons, he qualified this statement by saying that some of them were "so near akin to the monkey that scientists are yet looking for the missing link." The record of this "ignorant and debased and debauched race" in its African environment, he affirmed, was one of "barbarism, savagery, cannibalism, and everything which is low and degrading." It was therefore "the quintessence of folly," he concluded, to suppose that the Negro could emulate the civilization of the Anglo-Saxons.

Long years of intimate contact with Negroes made this conviction axiomatic with Tillman. Had not his observations as a child of newly arrived Africans proved that they were naturally savages? Did not his long experience with the freedmen on the farm and in politics prove that they were innately lazy, cowardly, and corrupt? He did not think it necessary to consult in a systematic fashion the mass of scientific and pseudoscientific writings of his day in which the status of the Negro was debated. He had never in his wide travels met a Southerner

<sup>1</sup> Francis B. Simkins, *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina* (Durham, 1926), *passim*.

deemed sensible who had views different from his own. Outsiders with contrary opinions were adjudged ignorant of the realities of Negro life; he was certain they would revise their opinions were they to visit the black belt.<sup>2</sup>

The Senator's belief in the innate inferiority of the blacks logically led to the conclusion that they should remain an inferior caste. Neither in theory nor in practice should they be given the same economic, social, or political opportunities as the whites. His clearest expression of this attitude was his repudiation of President Theodore Roosevelt's injunction, in a discussion of proper conduct toward colored troops, to "deal with each man on his merit as a man." A colored man, replied Tillman, should not have the same treatment as a white man "for the simple reason that God Almighty made him colored and did not make him white." Was it either possible or desirable, he asked rhetorically, for "the caste feelings and race antagonisms of centuries to disappear in the universal brotherhood of man?" "Feelings of revulsion," he felt, arose in the breast of every white man when such a program was suggested. The unsoundest motives, he asserted, prevented a frank confession by the North of this fact. These motives were a mistaken philanthropy born of ignorance of the blacks, and the desire to curry favor with the Negro voters of the border states.<sup>3</sup>

Tillman justified prejudices of caste mainly because they prevented the greatest social disaster of which he could conceive: the amalgamation of races. Would not the elimination of "the caste feelings and race antagonisms of centuries," he asked, mean that the Caucasian, the "highest and noblest of the five races," would disappear in an orgy of miscegenation? He even claimed that the purpose of those who would open the door of civic and social opportunity to the blacks was to make the South into a mulatto state. Roosevelt and other contemporaries would not admit this, he said; but an older and more fanatical genera-

<sup>2</sup> *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., 2515 (February 23, 1903), 2565 (February 24, 1903).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., 2560-64 (February 24, 1903); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1032, 1039-40 (January 12, 1907); Tillman, in *North American Review* (Boston, 1815-), CLXXI (1900), 443.

tion of advocates of Negro rights had admitted that race mixture was implied in their theories. Wendell Phillips and Theodore Tilton had openly advocated the mixture and Thaddeus Stevens had practiced it.<sup>4</sup>

Tillman's most original contribution to the race controversy was his justification of lynching for rape. He bluntly declared to startled senators: "As Governor of South Carolina I proclaimed that, although I had taken the oath of office to support the law and enforce it, I would lead a mob to lynch any man, black or white, who ravished a woman, black or white. This is my attitude calmly and deliberately taken, and justified by my conscience in the sight of God." On another occasion he declared, "To hell with the Constitution" when it stood in the way of mob justice to a rapist.<sup>5</sup> Thousands, of course, agreed with this judgment, but only a few Southern leaders of his generation were willing to acknowledge publicly such radical views. Most of those who spoke or wrote regarding lynching condemned it upon any grounds, using arguments about the sacredness of law.

Viewing sexual misbehavior in the most intolerant light, he scorned as a coward the man who refused to shoot on sight the seducer of a wife or daughter. No wonder he saw red when a Negro violated the honor of a white woman; no treatment, in his opinion, was too severe for such a malefactor. It was Tillman's belief that by the act of rape upon a white woman the Negro was expressing, in the boldest and most horrible form at his command, his desire to break down the lines of caste and thereby effect racial amalgamation. The white women of the South were represented as "in a state of siege," surrounded by black brutes who had been taught "the damnable heresy of equality." Although they possessed only the mentality of children, these blacks roamed freely in regions inadequately policed, their breasts pulsating with the desire to sate their passions upon white maidens and wives. From forty to a hundred Southern maidens, Tillman asserted, were

<sup>4</sup> *Cong. Record*, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., 2564 (February 24, 1903); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1040 (January 12, 1907).

<sup>5</sup> Tillman to New York *Sun*, November 4, 1913, in Tillman Letter Book, 1913 (University of South Carolina MS.).

annually offered as a sacrifice to the African Minotaur, and no Theseus had arisen to rid the land of this terror.

With emotional intensity the South Carolina Senator portrayed the reaction of Southern white men. "The young girl thus blighted and brutalized drags herself to her father and tells him what has happened. . . . Our brains reel under the staggering blow and hot blood surges to the heart. . . . We revert to the original savage." The whole countryside would rise and a summary but just punishment would be imposed upon the malefactor. To designate such an occasion as a "lynching bee," a festive occasion, was a misnomer. "There is more," affirmed Tillman, "of the feeling of participating as mourner at a funeral" among the men who, "with set, stern faces," avenge "the greatest wrong, the blackest of crimes in all the category of crimes."

Tillman faced resolutely the allegation that lynching was an act of lawlessness. Shall men, he asked, allow a rapist trial according to the forms of law? His answer was an emphatic *No*, because the culprit had put himself outside both the human and divine law. The methods of Judge Lynch, he added, were in cases of rape superior to those of the regular courts. The latter forced the victim of the rape to undergo "a second crucifixion" of publicly testifying against the deflowerer. The former simply involved the bringing of suspects before the victim who identified her assailant in unmistakable terms so that "death, speedy and fearful," might be meted out to him.

Perhaps the Senator's justification of lynching was the most dignified answer ever made by a Southerner to those many Americans who have condemned illegal justice under any circumstances. His address was carefully prepared and free from the extemporaneous ranting which often characterized his utterances. There were quotations from Tacitus and the poets and an unaccustomed eloquence, without a sacrifice of the "brutal frankness" which usually gave force to the speaker's words. The "state of siege" which the Southern woman was supposed to endure was described vividly, as were the fate of the victim, the horrified reaction of the white man, and the solemn procession of the lynchers. If passion was stronger than logic in this speech, it was a

passion born of the high moral conviction that men should be ruthless in protecting the virtue of their women.<sup>6</sup>

Tillman's belief in the innate weakness of Negro character led to an extremely pessimistic view regarding the future of the race despite the opportunities extended by the abolition of slavery. In face of the optimism of hopeful Southerners he pointedly claimed that the race had retrograded, not progressed, since emancipation.

His exposition of this attitude was prefaced by an enthusiastic acceptance of the conventional Southern belief that the Negro under slavery had been exceedingly well behaved. The uplifting influence of that institution was said to have been so great that there had been "more good, Christian men and women and gentlemen and ladies" among the Southern slaves than in all Africa." But these conditions were suddenly reversed when, as a consequence of emancipation, the Negro was "inoculated with the virus of equality." Then "the poor African" became "a fiend, a wild beast, seeking whom he may devour"; then he inaugurated "misrule and anarchy and robbery" by voting for "the carpetbag hordes of thieves and scoundrels and their scalawag allies, the native born rapscallions." Horizons were lit with the fires of white men's houses and Negroes planned to kill all white men, marry white women, and use white children as servants. Among Tillman's firmest convictions was that Reconstruction was one of the most horrible experiences recorded in history. It had so demoralized the Negro that he could never recover the virtues of the slave.<sup>7</sup>

The attempts of the Negro since Reconstruction to achieve some of the nonpolitical objectives of that experiment were roundly ridiculed by the South Carolina Senator. The worth of the Negro was declared to be in inverse ratio to the degree in which he aspired after the higher standards of civilization. Many among the older generation who retained the attitudes of slaves, Tillman averred in 1903, were orderly and moderately industrious; but the younger generation with progres-

<sup>6</sup> Authority for Tillman's utterances on lynching is his speech in *Cong. Record*, 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1440-43 (January 21, 1907).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., 3223 (March 23, 1900); 57 Cong., 2 Sess., 2564-65 (February 24, 1903); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1443 (January 21, 1907).

sive aspirations were vagabonds "who were doing all the devilment of which we read every day." Later Tillman believed that the efforts of the race to rise in the scale of civilization had made it "altogether degenerate" and "more debased and worthless" than before. The blacks were being taught by their leaders to lie and steal as a compensation for the wrongs of slavery.<sup>8</sup>

Against Negro education Tillman was especially bitter. "The Northern millions" invested in Negro schools, he said, created antagonisms between the blacks and the poorer whites, and "the little smattering of education" which the blacks absorbed was "enervating and destructive of the original virtues of the Negro race." "Over-education" of Negroes, on the other hand, by stimulating ambitions impossible of attainment, created discontent which resulted in crime. The city of Washington, where intensive efforts were made to educate the blacks, was said to offer a striking illustration of this. There the Negro criminal and illegitimacy rates were high and Negro public opinion did not frown upon open violations of the moral law.<sup>9</sup> Booker T. Washington, the outstanding example of the educated Negro of the times, was declared later to be "a humbug," one whom a German was forced to chastise because this educated Negro "had been making goo-goo eyes" at the German's wife.<sup>10</sup>

Such views naturally led Tillman to justify the use of fraud and violence by which the white South rid itself of Negro rule. In 1900 he told the Senate: "We took the government away. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them [the Negroes]. We are not ashamed of it."<sup>11</sup> And two years later he told the Republican senators: "We will not submit to negro domination under any conditions that you may prescribe. Now you have got it. The sooner you understand it fully and

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., 2562 (February 24, 1903); Tillman to J. L. Jones, August 10, 1916, Tillman Letter Book, 1916; Tillman to B. R. Tillman, Jr., November 17, 1913, Tillman Letter Book, 1913.

<sup>9</sup> *Cong. Record*, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., 2560-66 (February 24, 1903); 60 Cong., 1 Sess., 2195 (February 19, 1908).

<sup>10</sup> Tillman to D. G. Ambler, March 24, 1911, Tillman Letter Book, 1911.

<sup>11</sup> *Cong. Record*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., 2245 (February 26, 1900). Cf. *ibid.*, 3223 (March 23, 1900); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1440 (January 21, 1907).

thoroughly, the better off this country will be.”<sup>12</sup> The legal disfranchise-  
ment of the blacks through the “understanding clause” of the South  
Carolina constitution of 1895 was described as an act of great states-  
manship, more consistent with civic morality, and less likely to render  
effective the appeals of dissatisfied white politicians to Negro voters,  
than were the tissue ballots and violence of earlier days.

Tillman viewed with alarm and bitterness Roosevelt’s appointment  
of Negroes to office in the South. Such appointments were a challenge  
to the social fabric, entering wedges for a reversion to the horrors of  
Reconstruction. It made no difference, he frankly admitted, that the  
appointees were competent and honest; they must be kept out of office  
to prevent “ever so little a trickle of race equality to break through the  
dam.” He invoked all the parliamentary skill at his command to  
prevent the senatorial confirmation of Roosevelt’s colored appointees.  
But when such legal remedies were not effective, he favored mob  
violence as a means of driving colored men out of office. In such  
emergencies, he said, “our instincts as white men” provoke unlawful  
acts “which we feel it necessary to do.”<sup>13</sup>

Convinced that the race question involved sinister consequences,  
Tillman was, throughout his career, as extreme an alarmist on this issue  
as any American who has ever lived. In 1903 he proclaimed that the  
blacks would soon attempt to capture political control in the areas  
where they held majorities; that, in hatred and invidious ambition, they  
would inevitably inaugurate a “war of the races.” He thanked God  
that he would not live to see the eruption of this volcanic situation, and  
that marriage had carried two of his daughters into areas without large  
Negro populations.<sup>14</sup> He urged the arming and the military organiza-  
tion of Southern whites, advising those unable to effect such organiza-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., 5102 (May 7, 1902).

<sup>13</sup> Tillman’s views on this issue are best stated in the debates over the Indianola (Mississippi) post office, in *ibid.*, 2 Sess., 2511-15 (February 23, 1903), 2562-65 (February 24, 1903).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 2564-65 (February 24, 1903); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1440-42 (January 21, 1907);  
Tillman to W. E. Chandler, November 25, 1911, Tillman Letter Book, 1911.

tions to secure "buck-shot cartridges for your bird guns and duck guns."<sup>15</sup>

Such a state of mind led the South Carolinian to reject impatiently the contention that his frequent agitations of the race question were unstatesmanlike. Doctrinaires and politicians who dismissed the question with a wave of the hand, he said, were shallow thinkers who, ostrichlike, hid their heads in the sand to wait until the tempest of race war burst in fury.<sup>16</sup>

He eloquently cried against the fates for not offering a satisfactory solution of the race question after four years of bloody war and many subsequent years of contention. The Civil War, he said, had settled only two issues, slavery and nationalism. After that struggle a false idealism had combined with sordid political ambitions to tie the putrid carcass of slavery to the South by means of the social and political threats suggested by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. In 1900 he asserted that the race question was still causing "more sorrow, more mischief, more loss of life, more expenditure of treasure" than any other American problem. "It is like Banquo's ghost, and will not down."<sup>17</sup>

Believing that a removal of this incubus must come from the dominant section of the nation, he earnestly asked Northern leaders to present a plan. But his Northern opponents replied with the suggestion that he offer a concrete solution of a problem he said was so menacing. On one occasion Senator Albert J. Beveridge, after listening for two hours to Tillman's lurid oratory, said he was willing to listen for two hours more if the South Carolinian would advance a solution. But as is often the case with agitators, Tillman was more masterful and detailed in criticism than in suggesting remedies. His remedies, such as they were, were either nebulous or unattainable. He confessed, "I do not

<sup>15</sup> Tillman to Captain J. M. Moorer, March 4, 1912, Tillman Letter Book, 1912; Tillman to A. W. Leland, December 8, 1911, Tillman Letter Book, 1911.

<sup>16</sup> *Cong. Record*, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., 2560 (February 24, 1903); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1442 (January 21, 1907).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., 3223 (March 23, 1900); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1039 (January 12, 1907), 1443 (January 21, 1907).

know what to do about" the race question. "I do not know what to tell you to do about it. I see no end to it."<sup>18</sup>

Occasionally he professed to see a solution in the migration or expulsion of the blacks from the South. But on other occasions, and with more emphasis, he opposed their removal. Their eviction, he held, would be both cruel and impractical. "It would simply mean," he declared, "their [the Negroes'] destruction; and I do not want to destroy them." Their natural increase would be greater than the number who could be moved. They did not wish to leave the South and no law of Congress could compel them to do so. Moreover, this close student of Southern opinion admitted that the whites did not want the blacks to leave because it would cause derangement of labor and other economic ills. "We have some selfish and greedy men down there [in the South] who want to hold on to the Negroes as laborers," said Tillman. But he hoped he would not be placed among this number.<sup>19</sup>

The most tangible reform that he could suggest was that the Fifteenth—and sometimes the Fourteenth—Amendment be repealed. He believed that such a formal declaration by the North of surrender in the struggle to give the Negro political and civil equality would make the black man better satisfied with his inferior position and thereby pave the way for greater harmony between the races. But the South Carolina leader did not press this objective to a vote in Congress or in the National Democratic conventions, contenting himself with efforts to educate Northern public opinion to his attitude. When in 1910 ill health forced him to stop public agitation of the race question, he rightly concluded that the time was not ripe for his constitutional proposal. In his opinion the cowardly politicians of both parties, and the unwillingness of Northern leaders to acknowledge defeat, made

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., 5102 (May 7, 1902); 2 Sess., 2556 (February 24, 1903); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1040 (January 12, 1907), 1444 (January 21, 1907).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., 5103 (May 7, 1902); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1042 (January 12, 1907); correspondence with Bishop H. M. Turner, *ibid.*, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., 2565-66 (February 24, 1903); Tillman, *The Negro Problem and Immigration: Address before the S. C. House of Representatives, Jan. 24, 1908* (Columbia, 1908); Tillman to Lula H. McKie, October 15, 1917, Tillman Letter Book, 1917; Tillman to R. A. Meares, July 18, 1916, Tillman Letter Book, 1916.

this impractical. Thereafter he waited hopefully, but the proper moment did not come in his lifetime.<sup>20</sup>

As far as concrete results were concerned, he had to be contented with the somewhat vague assurance that the North was tacitly permitting the South to solve its race problem on its own terms. This the North, despite Tillman's alarmist interpretations, had generally learned to do some years before the South Carolinian became a national agitator. The white South, if left to itself, could solve its problems with the co-operation of its "good" Negroes; for Tillman was too thorough a Southerner not to appreciate the elements of servility and subordination which characterized the Southern blacks as a whole. No Southerner was more effusive than he in praising those Negroes who accepted the position of inferiority assigned to them by the white South. There were, he said, millions of such Negroes in the South, and for them he shared with other Southerners "a universal feeling of respect and admiration."

As an illustration of this confidence he never tired of presenting the case of his servant Joe Gibson and Joe's wife, Kitty, who served the Tillman family forty-odd years. Both were illiterate ex-slaves who had no political aspirations, and who accepted, as a matter of course, social subordination as well as the primitive living standards to which Southern Negroes were accustomed. Tillman showed his confidence in Joe by putting him in charge of his plantation during the Senator's absence. "A more loyal friend," said the master, "no man ever had."<sup>21</sup>

The significance of Tillman's anti-Negro views does not lie in their originality or scientific accuracy. Except for his justification of lynching, his perceptive but prejudiced arguments were merely emphatic repetitions of words heard wherever Southerners gathered to discuss their problems. His thoughts were too morbid and too extravagant to seem reasonable to anyone but the most pronounced believer in the doctrine

<sup>20</sup> Tillman, *Struggles of 1876* (Anderson, S. C., 1909), 12-15; Tillman to D. M. Taylor, May 22, 1911, Tillman Letter Book, 1911; and Tillman to James K. Vardaman, October 8, 1913, Tillman Letter Book, 1913.

<sup>21</sup> *Cong. Record*, 57 Cong., 2 Sess., 2562 (February 24, 1903); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1443 (January 21, 1907).

of superior and inferior races. Moreover, the Senator never expounded his views of the Negro in an orderly fashion; with unlimited space in the *Congressional Record* and time on the Chataqua platform at his command, he said what he pleased in a hit and miss manner, disregarding repetitions and contradictions and heedless of logical classifications.

But these views revealed bluntly and truthfully to an interested North what the majority of Southerners actually felt concerning the Negro. Since the Civil War it had been customary for the leaders of the whites to speak or write evasively about race relations. The average Southerner, however, was thinking in more definite terms. He was believing that the Negro was made of inferior clay and should be suppressed in his attempts to rise politically or socially. It was therefore inevitable, when Tillman expounded these views in the North, among a supposedly hostile people, that waves of applause resounded from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Enlightened Southerners said that the words of the South Carolina Senator were harsh and imprudent; but to the white masses of the South they were all wisdom, all a courageous flinging of irrefutable doctrines in the face of the enemy. The crudeness and extravagance of the arguments stimulated a popular interest which could not have been aroused by less demagogic utterances.

The best proof of this was the South's reaction to these speeches. It is true that the better educated Southerners were pained that the successor of Calhoun, Hampton, and the Butlers should have talked as he did. Tillman's Southern colleagues signified their disapproval by withdrawing from the floor of the Senate during his anti-Negro tirades.<sup>22</sup> But no Southern senator dared reply; no Southern politician dared make the Negro question a campaign issue against the South Carolina leader. They knew that his words made him popular at home, and he had convincing proof of this popularity. It came in the form of thousands of letters of approval and in the form of applauding crowds whenever he appeared in the South. Indeed, it was his "religious belief" that even his views on lynching voiced "the feeling and the

<sup>22</sup> Senators Joseph R. Burton and John C. Spooner noted this in *ibid.*, 57 Cong. 1 Sess., 5103 (May 7, 1902); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1445-46 (January 21, 1907).

purpose of 95 per cent of the true white men of the Southern States."<sup>23</sup> Such popularity made him contemptuous of the hostility of the "negro-loving newspapers of the South,"<sup>24</sup> and won to his side, during the last phases of his agitations, the voices of two popular Southern demagogues, Senators James K. Vardaman and Hoke Smith.

The effects of Tillman's agitations on Northern audiences are more difficult to measure. As has been said, he did not arouse public opinion to effect the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment. Published opinions of his Negro speeches were usually hostile, sometimes violently denunciatory. One newspaper called him "the vulgar, profane, coarse, murder-glorifying, treason-uttering, scowling, vicious and uncultured Tillman."<sup>25</sup> Whenever Republican senators deigned to notice what he said, it was but to condemn. He was stigmatized as one who "can defend slavery . . . and even can boast of committing murder," and his justification of lynching was called "a retrogression to the brutal days of tyranny."<sup>26</sup> Thomas M. Patterson of Colorado, the only Democratic senator who answered the negrophobe, said that he attempted to create the impression that Democratic supremacy in the South depended on fraud and violence, and that were his views to prevail in the councils of the Democratic party, it would forfeit Northern support.<sup>27</sup>

Tillman answered these attacks by claiming that his words harmonized with changing Northern attitudes on the race question. He believed that the North was growing less prejudiced against the South in its attitude toward the blacks. He felt that this change was due to several causes. One was the participation of both sections in the war with Spain. Another was the abandonment by the Republicans of the practice of discrimination against the colored races of the newly acquired colonies for the traditional cry of "the brotherhood of man." A third was the northward migration of Negroes, which was provoking

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 1442 (January 21, 1907).

<sup>24</sup> Tillman, *Struggles of 1876*, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> Undated clipping from Binghamton (New York) *Evening Herald*, in Tillman Scrapbook No. 11 (University of South Carolina Library).

<sup>26</sup> Senators Burton and Spooner, in *Cong. Record*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., 5103 (May 7, 1902); 59 Cong., 2 Sess., 1444-46 (January 21, 1907).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 1040-44 (January 12, 1907).

in the North race riots and a disposition to treat blacks in the Southern fashion. Claiming that all American whites had an instinctive aversion to fraternal relations with blacks, Tillman believed that the time was ripe for effective use of these tendencies in Northern public opinion. In order to bring the North to the Southern view on the race question, he felt that it was only necessary to dispel ignorance or indifference toward Southern actualities. For nine years, on the floor of the Senate and on the Chataqua platform, he labored to destroy this ignorance and indifference.<sup>28</sup>

His "campaign of education" had some of the desired effects. Wherever he went in the North great audiences applauded "every sentiment which fell from his lips."<sup>29</sup> If the War amendments were not formally repealed as the result of his agitations, they were for practical purposes being set aside during his times. This development, it is true, was under way before he entered the national arena. But are we not safe in concluding that he had a vital part in this development? "I do not doubt," he himself wrote, "that I have been instrumental in causing the Northern people . . . to have a much saner view of the Negro question and in some respects understand the dismal dangerous aspects of it."<sup>30</sup> It is believable, therefore, that the modern reactionary attitude toward the Negro dates from Ben Tillman and represents one of the most significant ways in which he influenced American life.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 1442 (January 21, 1907).

<sup>29</sup> *Chicago Examiner*, November 28, 1906. Cf. numerous other clippings in Tillman Scrapbook No. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Tillman to D. M. Taylor, May 22, 1911, Tillman Letter Book, 1911.

# Ante-Bellum Sugar Culture in the South Atlantic States

By J. CARLYLE SITTERSON

In the ante-bellum South, disastrously low prices of the staple commodities frequently threatened planters with financial ruin. Some of the most interesting attempts to avoid this condition were the efforts of planters to find additional products for cultivation. On the plantations bordering the Louisiana sugar belt, sugar and cotton constantly displaced one another as the principal commodity accordingly as one or the other brought high prices. In parts of Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida, many planters in seeking new staples which might prove profitable attempted to establish sugar cultivation. In this article, an account is given of their attempts and of the measure of success which they attained.

It was the success of the Louisiana sugar planters in the years following 1795 that first aroused interest in sugar cultivation in Georgia.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Spalding, prominent planter of Glynn County, was probably the first to cultivate sugar cane in Georgia. In a letter published in the *Southern Agriculturist* in 1828, he gave the following account of his early efforts at sugar cultivation.

In the year 1805, I began the cultivation of Sugar Cane with 100 plants; I had long before that been impressed with the opinion that it would answer as well in

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of two sugar factories in the vicinity of Savannah are pointed out as evidence of the cultivation of sugar cane in Georgia before the Revolution. It is more probable, however, that these factories were at that time used for cleaning rice, and then after the introduction of sugar were used as sugar mills. W. C. Stubbs and D. C. Purse, *Sugar Cane* (Savannah, 1900), Pt. II, 1.

Georgia as Louisiana, for one of my early friends, the late Mr. John M'Queen of Savannah, had spent the winters of '96, '97 in Louisiana, and had stated among other circumstances that the Orange trees were killed to the root, in that winter, and as I knew there was growing all around me Orange trees that had been planted by the soldiers and followers of General Oglethorpe, I concluded without a doubt upon my mind, that the climate of Georgia and South-Carolina was better than the climate of Louisiana, because this *test by plants*, was a more certain one than any test that the thermometer could afford, and this I believe to be the opinion of enlightened Agriculturists in Europe and America.<sup>2</sup>

Spalding's chances of success in his new venture were materially lessened by the depressed condition of Southern agriculture during the years of the Embargo and Non-intercourse acts and later by the War of 1812. In 1814, however, the sugar produced by the labor of fifty of his slaves yielded him a gross return of \$12,500. As a result of his success a few of his neighbors along the Altamaha River began the cultivation of cane.<sup>3</sup> There were many factors, however, which still prevented the rapid extension of sugar culture. Men already burdened by debts did not care to sink money into a cultivation which they considered still in the experimental stage. One or two failures discouraged some of the planters from engaging "in a flattering, although expensive culture." Moreover, during the years 1815-1819, the prices of the old staples, cotton and rice, with which the planters were familiar, were high. Naturally the planters were not inclined to abandon a profitable culture with which they were familiar for one which was entirely new and experimental.

Although many planters had been discouraged in the years 1815-1820, a few continued to cultivate cane. Experience taught them useful lessons and favorable seasons often rendered their experiments successful.<sup>4</sup> The decline in the value of cotton in the 1820's caused the planters throughout Georgia and South Carolina to look for new staple crops for cultivation. The culture of sugar cane was recommended to them

<sup>2</sup> *Southern Agriculturist* (Charleston, 1828-1846), II (1829), 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Southern Review* (Charleston, 1828-1832), III (1829), 330; *Southern Agriculturist*, II (1829), 55.

with a great deal of enthusiasm.<sup>5</sup> In 1824, Spalding, in an address to the Union Agricultural Society of Georgia, of which he was president, said:

Sugar has been slowly, but certainly, making its progress, and has now fixed itself in public opinion. The district is limited in which it may be cultivated to the greatest advantage; but the space is large, over which it may be grown, for the making of fine syrup, which is the most abundant and most nutritious feed for cattle that is known in the world.<sup>6</sup>

Many planters, while not planting the cane for market, at least raised a few acres for domestic use. R. King, Jr., manager of the Butler estate at Hampton, near Darien, reported that sugar had been in cultivation on that plantation since 1815 "and has been found more profitable, (notwithstanding a partial loss of crops, occasioned by bad seed, from ignorance in the mode of preserving it,) than Cotton, and less precarious than Rice; not so liable to be injured in gales." In 1824, the 56 acres of cane at Hampton produced 39 hogsheads of sugar of 1200 pounds each, an average of about 835 pounds per acre.<sup>7</sup>

In 1814, John Couper of St. Simon's Island, built a sugar mill with live-oak rollers, but his losses during the war prevented him from proceeding with sugar culture.<sup>8</sup> The mill remained unused until 1825 when his son, James Hamilton Couper, put it up and used it to grind some cane which he did not need for seed. In that year Couper planted five and one-half acres in cane at Hopeton. The record for the crop produce of that year does not include sugar; consequently, we must conclude that the product of the cane, whether sugar or syrup, was consumed on the plantation. The following year three and one-half acres were planted in cane, but there is no record of the yield. In 1827, the number of acres in cane was increased to nineteen, but the product from the cane is again unrecorded. Apparently, Couper was experimenting with cane cultivation during these years in an attempt to conclude whether it could be successfully grown on the plantation and

<sup>5</sup> *Southern Review*, III (1829), 330 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup> *American Farmer* (Baltimore, Washington, 1819-1897), VII (1825-1826), 186.

<sup>7</sup> *Southern Agriculturist*, I (1828), 527.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II (1829), 103.

whether it would be wise to include cane among the staple commodities. In 1828, the yield of the cane crop was included in the total production for the plantation. In that year 48 acres of cane produced 5411 pounds of sugar and 650 gallons of syrup, an average of only 113 pounds per acre. During the next few years the amount of land cultivated in cane was constantly increased until in 1831, the year of highest total product and largest number of acres in cane, 376 acres produced 166,061 pounds of sugar and 14,735 gallons of molasses. The acres cultivated in cane were over half the total amount of land in cultivation that year. After 1833, when 311 acres were planted in cane, the amount of land in that crop constantly dropped off. Although a few acres were produced for home consumption in 1840 and 1841, apparently none was grown for the market.

Couper's plantation record indicates quite clearly that weather conditions in that region were not very suitable for cane cultivation. The record contains such typical entries as the following: in 1829, heavy rains in March and cold weather in April injured the cane, and "The spring [was] altogether most unfavourable"; in 1830, "A dry summer & fall checked the growth of the cane. . . . A very severe black frost on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December froze the cane of about 40 acres of standing cane, & rendered it necessary to [grind] them into syrup." The unusually low average yield of sugar per acre and the extreme variableness of the yield undoubtedly resulted partly from such unfavorable weather conditions. During the twelve years 1828-1839, the average yield per acre was only 374 pounds. The highest average, attained in 1835, was only 718 pounds per acre. In the table below is given the number of acres cultivated in cane and the production of sugar and syrup.<sup>9</sup>

A violent storm on the coast of Georgia and South Carolina in 1824 was particularly destructive to the plantations around Savannah. From that time, the cultivation of cane tended to move southward and became centered around the mouths of the Altamaha, Satilla, and St. Mary's rivers, where the ruins of many sugar houses can be seen today. In

<sup>9</sup> James Hamilton Couper, Record of Hopeton Plantation, 1818-1831 (MS. in the Southern Historical Collection in the University of North Carolina Library).

1829, Spalding reported that over one hundred plantations in the Altamaha region were cultivating cane in some degree. He also stated that "All doubts as to the importance and value of the Sugar Cane in Georgia has [sic] now passed away; one acre of Cane, as plants, has been recently shipped from Savannah to North Carolina, where it will no doubt plant from ten to fifteen acres."<sup>10</sup>

Year	Acres	Pounds Sugar	Gallons Molasses
1827.....	19		
1828.....	48 $\frac{1}{4}$	5,411	650
1829.....	202 $\frac{1}{2}$	32,350	5,349
1830.....	303	107,811	21,895
1831.....	376 $\frac{1}{2}$	166,061	14,735
1832.....	336	82,324	21,930
1833.....	311	72,023	13,163
1834.....	165 $\frac{1}{2}$	92,389	12,632
1835.....	142 $\frac{1}{2}$	101,964	4,576
1836.....	133 $\frac{3}{4}$	49,334	6,055
1837.....	86 $\frac{3}{4}$	34,018	4,117
1838.....	40	14,985	2,782
1839.....	45	23,987	2,523
1840.....	30		1,600

In spite of Spalding's optimistic statements,<sup>11</sup> many were doubtful of the suitability of sugar cane cultivation to Georgia. In 1830, Jacob Wood of Potoir, in a somewhat skeptical tone, wrote:

Our climate, though evidently amelioratory, I fear, is yet too cold for the Cane plant to arrive at perfect maturity. In 1828, on the 7th and 8th of April, I had all my Cane cut down by the frost, though there were up in many places one hundred plants to a task row; it however sprouted again, and the crop was a fair one, there being no frost to injure, that season, until after Christmas. In 1829 it was also injured in the spring, but early in November, such was the severity of the cold, that the white joints of both species were frozen.<sup>12</sup>

In an even more cautious tone, a writer in the *Southern Review* of Charleston advised in 1829:

<sup>10</sup> *Southern Agriculturist*, II (1829), 56.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, III (1830), 231.

It would be idle to disguise the difficulties which still surround this new staple in our country, and retard its progress. It is not merely to one successful experiment, or to one favourable season that we must look. We ought, if we are wise, to take the average of years, and inquiring into the failures which have taken place, ascertain, if possible, whether the causes of these failures can be obviated by skill, by improvements in culture, in machinery, in manipulation, or whether we must bend before them as before an unalterable law of nature.<sup>13</sup>

In the years 1836-1840, the price of sugar was very low and the producers in Georgia and Florida became greatly discouraged. At about the same time, the prices of both cotton and rice advanced, and in a few years the fields which had been devoted to cane were turned to their cultivation.<sup>14</sup> In 1840, sugar was an important crop on only a few plantations in the Altamaha region; consequently, Georgia produced only 330,000 pounds.<sup>15</sup> The Reverend George White, in his *Statistics of Georgia*, wrote in 1848: "Some years ago sugar was made to some great extent in Glynn [County] but its culture has been discontinued for sale, except on two plantations."<sup>16</sup> Sugar cane could not compete successfully with rice in the coastal region and consequently planters in Glynn and Camden counties tended to abandon its cultivation.<sup>17</sup> The *Southern Cultivator and Dixie Farmer*, published in Augusta, quoted numerous articles from various local papers which show that sugar cane was being grown for home consumption by many farmers. In 1850, Georgia produced 1642 hogsheads of cane sugar.<sup>18</sup> By this time, the production of sugar for the market had become concentrated in the south central section of the state near the Florida line, in the counties of Baker, Loundes, and Thomas. However, it was cultivated to some extent in twenty-five counties in 1850 and in forty-three counties in 1860. The production declined to 1167 hogsheads in 1860, but 546,749 gallons of syrup were manufactured.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Southern Review*, III (1829), 330.

<sup>14</sup> *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1880), XXII (1857), 322-23; Stubbs and Purse, *Sugar Cane*, Pt. II, 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Farmers' Register* (Shellbanks, Petersburg, Va., 1833-1842), X (1842), 106.

<sup>16</sup> *Statistics of the State of Georgia* (Savannah, 1849), 282.

<sup>17</sup> *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, 1853), 378-84.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 384.

<sup>19</sup> *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture* (Washington, 1864), 24-29.

Planters soon found that the ribbon cane was the best species for cultivation in Georgia because it ripened more quickly than the others and withstood the cold better.<sup>20</sup> From 1820 to 1840 the average yield per acre on alluvial lands was placed at 850 pounds of sugar and 45 gallons of molasses.<sup>21</sup> The climate was not the main obstacle to sugar cultivation in Georgia, since a considerable region below 32° 30' latitude was warm enough to permit sugar culture. The chief obstacles appear to have been the limited area of land adaptable to the cultivation of cane and the superior advantages of other products, namely cotton, rice, and grains.<sup>22</sup>

Sugar cane was late in making its appearance in South Carolina. The planters paid little attention to other crops so long as the cultivation of cotton and rice continued profitable. The extreme depression of the 1820's, however, led many to look for more profitable products. Philip Chartrand of Tivoli, near Charleston, who had previously grown sugar in Cuba, planted some sugar cane of the Otaheite and ribbon varieties in 1827. Of this experiment, he said: "I am perfectly satisfied, that if I had had a quantity sufficient to have made it an object, and the necessary facilities for grinding it, I could have produced Sugar equal to New Orleans. Hence, I conclude, that it could be cultivated with abundant success in the vicinity of Charleston."<sup>23</sup>

Other experiments rapidly followed that of Chartrand. In 1829, Thomas Baker reported that he had grown sugar cane successfully near Stateburg.<sup>24</sup> Edward Barnwell wrote, in the *Southern Agriculturist*, that he had experimented in sugar cultivation on one acre in 1829 at the request of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina. This acre yielded 23,150 stalks of average size.<sup>25</sup>

Judging from the numerous articles on sugar appearing in the *Southern Agriculturist* from 1828 to 1832, every effort was made to

<sup>20</sup> *Southern Agriculturist*, I (1829), 485-89.

<sup>21</sup> Stubbs and Purse, *Sugar Cane*, Pt. II, 6.

<sup>22</sup> *De Bow's Review*, XVIII (1855), 45-46.

<sup>23</sup> *Southern Agriculturist*, I (1828), 211.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, III (1830), 65-68.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 300-301.

induce the planters of South Carolina to undertake the cultivation of sugar cane. It seems, however, that the greater number of the experiments in sugar culture were not very promising. In 1830, the editor stated that many planters had suffered severe losses in the growing of sugar cane due to errors in its cultivation.<sup>26</sup> In the same year, a Louisiana sugar planter of Natchez, at the editor's request, wrote an article for this publication in which he said: 'I know of no lands in your state strong enough to authorize extensive works, and would therefore recommend very temporary buildings, until it is ascertained whether the land is capable of producing a sufficient quantity of sugar, whether its durability would warrant the expense.'<sup>27</sup>

With the increasing prices of cotton and rice in the 1830's, the cultivation of cane in South Carolina was almost completely abandoned. In 1840, South Carolina produced only 30,000 pounds of cane sugar.<sup>28</sup> A decade later, however, the product was 671,000 pounds of cane sugar and 15,904 gallons of molasses.<sup>29</sup> This rapid increase was due primarily to the low price of cotton in the forties. During the following decade, cotton again became profitable and thus in 1860 the cane sugar crop was only 198,000 pounds. The cultivation of sugar cane in South Carolina was largely confined to the extreme southeastern coastal region in the counties of Colleton and Beaufort.<sup>30</sup>

The cultivation of sugar cane differed in an important aspect from the staples to which South Carolina and Georgia were accustomed. Its preliminary expense was much greater and had to be incurred even before the experiment could be made. This factor and the uncertainty of return were tremendous obstacles to the extension of its culture. The *Southern Review* of Charleston, in 1829, commented as follows on sugar cultivation:

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 517-18.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 136. The article contains considerable information about planting the cane, working it, and manufacturing the juice into sugar. It also includes a drawing of a sugar-house and a plan of a cane field.

<sup>28</sup> *De Bow's Review*, VII (1849), 150.

<sup>29</sup> *Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850, p. 348.

<sup>30</sup> *Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, *Agriculture*, 131.

It cannot be concealed that from some peculiarity of soil or climate, there has been great difficulty in procuring sugar of a good quality from the cane along the Atlantic border of the Southern States. If a few have succeeded, many have failed. . . . Sugar makers from the Mississippi have been brought to the Alatamaha, and have disappointed their employers; planters from the West Indies have not been more successful. While syrup, molasses, rum, have been produced in great quantities, sugar has been but sparingly obtained, and frequently very inferior in its quality. Hence has arisen a common opinion in the country, that the juice of the cane is too weak to yield sugar advantageously in our climate, or what is perhaps equivalent, that it does not mature.<sup>31</sup>

The beginning of sugar production in Florida goes far back into Colonial times. As early as 1768, sugar cane was cultivated in the region of Dr. Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna colony. In that year, one Oswald established a large sugar cane plantation on the Halifax River.<sup>32</sup> About 1775, the naturalist, William Bartram, visited a plantation on Long Lake, about thirty miles from New Smyrna. He reported that a severe storm had destroyed the crops, among them "the Indigo, . . . and several acres of very promising Sugar-cane." Commenting upon the fertility of the land in the New Smyrna region, he said: "These rich low grounds when drained and ridged, are as productive as the natural high land, and vastly more durable, especially for Sugar-cane, Corn and even Indigo; but this branch of agriculture being more expensive, these rich lands are neglected, and the upland only is under culture."<sup>33</sup> With the tragic end of the New Smyrna colony, the cultivation of sugar cane in Florida temporarily passed out of written history.

In the 1820's, there was a revival of interest, and many planters began to experiment in cane cultivation.<sup>34</sup> In 1826, a French planter, of "considerable planting experience in the West Indies and in Florida," reported that sugar could be grown to advantage in Florida. He stated, on the other hand, that storms, cold, lack of manure, and inexperience

<sup>31</sup> *Southern Review*, III (1829), 332.

<sup>32</sup> Garita Doggett, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida* (Jacksonville, 1921), 51.

<sup>33</sup> *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida* . . . (Philadelphia, 1791), 143-44.

<sup>34</sup> Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933), II, 748-49.

were severe handicaps to its profitable cultivation.<sup>35</sup> During the years 1827-1830, there was considerable interest in Florida in sugar culture.<sup>36</sup> In 1827, the Baltimore *Patriot* reported that it had received a sample of the sugar made by Colonel Henry Yonge of Gadsden County, which was equal to any made in Louisiana. The report also declared that good land in that region would produce a thousand pounds of sugar to the acre.<sup>37</sup>

The Honorable Joseph M. White, representative in Congress from Florida and a vigorous champion of Florida's interests, wrote in 1828: "But by far the most valuable product of the country will be the article of sugar; and in this article I have no hesitation in saying, that Middle Florida, and the adjacent counties of Georgia, are destined at no distant day to furnish a most important item to our domestic trade."<sup>38</sup> The next year, he urged that the government aid in introducing new varieties of cane into the United States, as the culture was promising much success in Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi, and Alabama.<sup>39</sup>

Many planters were finding sugar cultivation in Florida highly profitable.<sup>40</sup> This success became known throughout the United States and aroused considerable interest in the new territory. There was a small stampede to the Tallahassee district for cotton planting and to the neighborhood of St. Augustine for the production of sugar and oranges.<sup>41</sup> One writer asserted in 1834 that

Sugar-cane grows finely on the good lands in Florida. The Otaheite cane is principally cultivated. The Philippine or ribband cane is rapidly supplanting this species of cane in Louisiana, and will probably do so here. The growing of sugar cane has greatly increased within a few years, and much is now made in West Florida, where as many as 3,000 pounds have been made per acre.<sup>42</sup>

In the following year, Farquhar Macrae wrote to Edmund Ruffin, editor of the *Farmers' Register*:

<sup>35</sup> *American Farmer*, VIII (1826-1827), 339-40.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII (1826-1827); IX (1827-1828), *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, IX (1827-1828), 268.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, X (1828-1829), 10.

<sup>39</sup> Letters to the secretary of state and the secretary of the navy, quoted in *ibid.*, 338.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 314, 315.

<sup>41</sup> U. B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929), 71.

<sup>42</sup> Robert Baird, *View of the Valley of the Mississippi* (Philadelphia, 1832), 287.

Some two years since I came first to Florida, after a residence of some years, as a sugar planter in the British West Indies; from whence I was forced, with a sacrifice of property and prospects, by the mad abolition act of the infatuated English government. My object in selecting Florida as a residence, was to establish, under a secure and honest constitution, a sugar growing estate.

Macrae thought the higher lands much too sandy for sugar cane, but considered the swamp lands, along the creeks and rivers, ideally suited to cane cultivation.<sup>43</sup> He began sugar planting on a small scale in 1834, investing only \$12,000 in the entire enterprise. He planted eighty acres of cotton, forty acres of sugar cane, and sixty acres of corn and other provisions. His working force consisted of four boys, each with a mule and plow, in addition to twelve field hands. At a cost of \$200, he built a wooden mill, with live-oak rollers, which was turned by mules.

The cane grew well, but was damaged on October 24 by a heavy frost. It was cut immediately and some of it was taken from the fields. The remaining field cane was mattressed and after three weeks grinding was again commenced.<sup>44</sup> This time no difficulty was experienced and "the sugar appeared in 'character distinct,' with a large firm, and sparkling grain." The juice of mattressed cane made better sugar, according to Macrae, because mattressing generated heat which increased the yield of sugar.

In spite of the loss of cane by frost, Macrae made sixty-three barrels of sugar from twenty-six acres, which, at ten cents per pound, brought \$1323; and fifty-one barrels of molasses, which, at thirty cents per gallon, brought \$459. With his returns on corn and cotton, his gross yield was \$5103.40. He estimated the expense of his Negroes and the rent of his land at \$1600, which gave him a net return of \$3503.40.

Macrae advised anyone undertaking sugar culture to provide a distillery since the cane, even if made acid by frost, could be used for the

<sup>43</sup> Macrae's plantation was called Wascissa [*sic*]. Although he did not give its location, the fact that his letter was written from Wascissa [*sic*] and that both the Wacissa River and the town of Wacissa are located in Jefferson County in northwestern Florida would indicate that his plantation was probably in that vicinity. *Farmers' Register*, III (1835), 179-80.

<sup>44</sup> Mattressing was the practice of laying cane in the fields, with the leaves toward the south, in beds about two feet in height, in such manner that the leaves of each layer covered the stalks of the preceding layer, thus protecting the cane from frost.

manufacture of spirits. "And it will require a vast increase of Temperance Societies, before that *stimulant* becomes valueless." He cautioned against planting an entire estate in sugar as the risks were too great, but suggested planting part in sugar and part in cotton. He also warned against entering upon sugar culture with less than fifty effective hands, for at certain times a great quantity of labor was necessary to save the crop. Macrae attributed failures in cane cultivation in Florida to over-cropping and a scarcity of laborers.<sup>45</sup>

Numerous planters in the thirties and forties reported successful experiments in sugar cultivation. A writer in *De Bow's Review* for 1848 said:

The Sugar Cane will, however, in a few years, become the staple of the Peninsular, which, from its climate, soil and facilities, is peculiarly adapted for its cultivation. It is now cultivated for home consumption by almost every planter, small and great; but the expense of machinery, and the time required to get under way, has deterred many from abandoning their cotton to raise cane.<sup>46</sup>

The production of sugar increased rapidly in the 1840's, rising from 275,000 pounds at the beginning of the decade<sup>47</sup> to 2,750,000 at its close.<sup>48</sup> Production declined during the fifties, probably as a result of rising cotton prices, and the yield in 1860 was only 1,669,000 pounds. At the end of the ante-bellum period, the cultivation of sugar cane was concentrated in northwest Florida in Jackson, Madison, Wakulla, Liberty, Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, and Columbia counties, in central Florida in Alachua, Clay, Marion, and Sumter counties, and in Manatee and Hillsborough counties on the west coast near Tampa Bay.<sup>49</sup> While well-adapted to parts of Florida, sugar cane could not compete successfully with such products as Indian corn, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and rice. Although it continued to be grown for home consumption, it gradually declined as a market product.

<sup>45</sup> *Farmers' Register*, IV (1836), 65-68.

<sup>46</sup> *De Bow's Review*, V (1848), 12.

<sup>47</sup> *Farmers' Register*, X (1842), 106.

<sup>48</sup> *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, p. 409.

<sup>49</sup> *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Agriculture*, 21.

Sugar cane cultivation spread into the South Atlantic coastal states as a result of the success of the Louisiana sugar planters.<sup>50</sup> In South Carolina, cane was cultivated only when the prices of the other staples were extremely low. In fact, it was the threat of financial ruin which led many planters of lower South Carolina to attempt cane cultivation in the hope that sugar might become a staple of the area in addition to cotton and rice. Experimentation proved that sugar cane was not well-suited to the climatic conditions of South Carolina and in the 1850's, with the rise in the price of cotton, only a small quantity of sugar was produced. Cane cultivation was introduced into Georgia by a few planters who hoped thereby to promote diversification. There, too, the production of sugar declined or increased as the price of cotton rose or fell. Some parts of Georgia, however, were well-suited to the cultivation of cane for the purpose of manufacturing syrup, which increased in the fifties at the expense of sugar. Parts of Florida were well-suited to cane cultivation, but the profits in sugar production were not equal to those in the production of other commodities. Consequently, its importance as a market product declined. Such facts as are available indicate that sugar cane could be successfully cultivated in these states, but the comparative advantages of other products made it unprofitable in most cases for planters to manufacture sugar for the market.

<sup>50</sup> The methods of cultivating cane and manufacturing the juice into sugar in the coastal states did not differ substantially from methods employed in Louisiana. A brief description of cultivation and marketing based mainly on the practice in Louisiana is available in Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States*, II, 749-51. More detailed treatments appear in V. Alton Moody, *Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations*, reprinted from the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (New Orleans, 1917-), VII (1924), 191-301; and in Walter Prichard, "Routine on a Louisiana Sugar Plantation Under the Slavery Regime," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, 1915-), XIV (1928), 168-78.

# Notes and Documents

## LUXURY AT NATCHEZ IN 1801

### A SHIP'S MANIFEST FROM THE McDONOGH PAPERS

*By* MACK SWEARINGEN

Among the many interesting items which have come to light in the John McDonogh Papers<sup>1</sup> is one which will provide further material for dispute among local historians in Mississippi. This document is a cargo list which adds some information to the little already known about the nature of "consumer goods" imported into Natchez.

The ancient grandeur of Natchez has been a matter of great pride among loyal Mississippians and there once was a tendency to accept uncritically the view that the little frontier river town was a seat of luxury from the time of its very founding. More lately the absurdity of this view has been pointed out, and the author of this note has taken some part in exploding the old legend.<sup>2</sup> Now comes into court as witness this cargo list which would seem to support the old tradition, indicating as it does that there might have been some fairly high living in Natchez even in the frontier stage of that ever interesting old city.

To reprint the entire document would be impracticable in this journal, because the insertion of a large folding sheet would be required. A summary of it is therefore presented.

Invoice of the following Goods Ship'd on board the Ship Carlisle of Baltimore  
Capt James Gibson, by order, for account and risk of Mr Wm Taylor at Balti-

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Tulane University Library, New Orleans. Mr. H. L. Webb, former librarian, assisted by Mrs. Arthur Long, has made a calendar of the correspondence, and it is hoped that this will soon be published.

<sup>2</sup> Mack Swearingen, *The Early Life of George Poindexter, A Story of the First Southwest* (New Orleans, 1934), 29-60, 160 ff.

more a native and a citizen of the United States of America, and bound for Loftus Heights, below the Natchez, the port of Entry of the United States in the Mississippi, to the address of Mr. Walter Burling.

720 casks of Claret (Montferran and Palus d'Ambès) . . . . .	Francs	80,364.50
2400 bottles of St Estephe Medoc . . . . .	"	3,188.16
15 pipes of brandy . . . . .	"	6,922.50
Sweet oil and bottles . . . . .	"	14,318.86
Cambricks, 576 ells . . . . .	"	5,238.00
Linen for sheets, 520 ells . . . . .	"	2,662.89
Britanias, 1200 ells . . . . .	"	4,549.00
70 doz. men's white silk stockings . . . . .	"	5,820.50
18 gross white playing cards . . . . .	"	1,054.95
312 doz kid gloves of assorted finishes, lengths, and colours . .	"	6,561.75
96 reams of "faint blue" common uncut paper . . . . .	"	809 30
Wall paper of various kinds, including "9 muses dark grounded" . . . . .	"	1,911.35
208 boxes of soap (9544 pieces) . . . . .	"	9,815.37
44 Dames Jeans [?] containing 902 soft shelled almonds . . . .	"	1,021.25
	"	144,238.38

Errors excepted

Bordeaux 19th September 1801<sup>3</sup>

Note that this cargo, of considerable value, was imported directly from France to Natchez. Note also that it includes no axes, rifles, saddles, plows, or any other kind of crudely utilitarian goods. Any devotee of the late Frederick Jackson Turner can tell you, without bothering to cite chapter and verse, that no pioneer went into the forest to chop trees clad in white silk stockings and kid gloves. Nor is it likely that he carried with him imported hard soap. If he used any, it was homemade soft soap which likely took his hide off along with the dirt. One cannot easily picture a log cabin with wallpaper and the nine "dark-grounded" muses would feel singularly uncomfortable in such surroundings. Did the frontiersman write home to his mother on "faint blue" French stationery, and did he lug into the wilderness an awkward assortment of bottles filled with the wine of France? Good authority has it that his beverage combined maximum effect with minimum bulk.

The conclusion, it seems, is obvious. Clearly there was some wealth

<sup>3</sup> Signature of French port official illegible.

and some civilized living in Natchez even as early as 1801, which was only three years after the American occupation. The question is, how general was this standard of living? Without quibble, only the planters and merchants could do this well by themselves. But how many of them? Were most of them able to maintain a scale of living indicated by this cargo, or was this cargo destined to be consumed by a half dozen, or a dozen, or a score of them? Anyone who has a clue to this would do me a great favor by communicating it.

#### ANTE-BELLUM SOUTHERNERS IN RUSSIA

*Edited by MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, III*

Edgefield has always been one of the most obstreperous counties in South Carolina. Dr. W. W. Ball, editor of the *Charleston News and Courier*, himself a native of the adjoining county of Laurens, paid his tribute to Edgefield in his delightful monograph, *The State that Forgot*.<sup>1</sup>

Edgefield on the Savannah, until 1895, included the present areas of four counties, and should have a book of its own. It has had more dashing, brilliant, romantic figures, statesmen, orators, soldiers, adventurers, daredevils, than any county in South Carolina, if not of any rural county in America. James Butler Bonham and William Barret Travis, leaders of the Texas defenders of the Alamo, the American Thermopylae that "had no messenger to tell its story," were born on its soil. Edmund Bacon, the "Ned Brace" of Judge A. B. Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes*, was one of the earliest of a family of brilliant Edgefieldians. The Brookses, Simkinses, Pickenses, Butlers, were Edgefield families. All of these were kin, by blood or marriage, and they and other related families gave to their village and county a character that was South Carolinian, more intense, more fiery, than was found elsewhere. Not less cultivated and courtly than the men of Camden or the "Old Cheraws," they seemed to be, if they were not, harder riders, bolder hunters, more enterprising and masterly politicians. Their virtues were shining, their vices flamed. They were not careful reckoners of the future, sometimes they spoke too quickly, and so acted, yet in crises an audacity that might have been called imprudence by milder men, made them indispensable to the state. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Indianapolis, 1932, p. 22.

Amongst those prominent in Edgefield in the ante-bellum, Civil War, and Reconstruction eras were John E. Bacon,<sup>2</sup> Milledge Luke Bonham,<sup>3</sup> and Francis Wilkinson Pickens.<sup>4</sup> All were lawyers, legislators, politicians, soldiers. Pickens and Bacon were diplomats; Pickens and Bonham were planters and governors. When Pickens was minister to Russia (1858-1860), Bacon was his secretary of legation. Both minister and secretary wrote occasionally to their friends in Edgefield. In the papers of Bonham are the two letters subjoined.

St. Petersburg, Feb. 24, 1859

LEGATION  
of the  
UNITED STATES

My dr. Genl.

The chasseur of our Legation handed me yours of the 23d ult. during dinner on yesterday. We recognized the autograph immediately, opened and read, I assure you, with such pleasure as only those in our situation can.

Indeed hope long deferred maketh the heart sick, & I thought you had cushioned my letter among the things that were not. So you perceive my pleasure was doubled. I am pleased to appear to you even in dreams, tho' I must confess not in so questionable a shape. A bonnet should never approach the couch of an Edgefield Cavalier (particularly of your day) without deporting itself in the handsomest & most fashionable manner. However, "Queen Mab," I suppose, had been with you.

I agree with you fully as to the slave trade. All agitation as to the actual fact of importing them at present should be avoided. Law, & custom & treaty at present forbid it. But let us first give notice of our intention to annul, on our part, the treaty of 1819<sup>5</sup> and then we can proceed as policy and interest dictate. I see by the correspondence from London to the St. Petersburg Journal (a French paper here), that Ld. Palmerston stated the other day that almost all nations

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Chapman, *History of Edgefield County* (Newberry, S.C., 1897), 245-46.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), 715; Jeanne E. Wier, "Milledge Luke Bonham," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), II (1929), 436.

<sup>4</sup> *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1410; Francis B. Simkins, "Francis Wilkinson Pickens," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV (1934), 559-61.

<sup>5</sup> William M. Malloy (comp.), *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1910), I, 631-33. This treaty merely deals (Art. V) with the return of captured slaves, etc. Perhaps Bacon had in mind the Act of Congress of 1819 which authorized the President to use cruisers to suppress the slave trade. *Statutes at Large*, III, 532.

were against England as to the right of search, that he, Ld. P., had already written to the cabinet at Paris & should shortly communicate to that at Washington the fact that England would renounce that right entirely. If that be true even England would not object to the repeal of the Treaty. Indeed, I think she is anxious to rid herself of the expense of keeping up her fleet on the African coast, and so ought America. I hear from letters to Col. Pickens that Mr. Dearing has some 30 Africans of the *Wanderer* on his place. I suppose he must be ignorant of the penalty. It is a sorry piece of business. Bland, I also understand has some of them.<sup>6</sup>

I had already seen the substance of your remarks on the death of Genl. Quitman.<sup>7</sup> Allow me to say, without flattery, that I regard them the best delivered on that occasion. Circumstances had qualified you to speak well, knowingly & feelingly of him, and you did so with verity, perspicuity, beauty, three essential elements in all compositions, & particularly of that sort.

I fear for your tender heart and susceptible gallantry, 'midst so handsome a bevy of belles, "Lola's & Katinka's," & it may be "Duon's." A cup or lip should never from a man turn untouched away; at least Anacreontic Moore regrets that one should ever see that day, and I am half inclined to agree with him, and I am sure you have still warm blood in your veins. However, the adage is best "*ominum maliorum oscula evitantur*," provided we could follow it.

I believe my last was dated from *Domo Domascheffski, Malgarouska*, where I was rejoicing in the bosom of a French family. Since then we have been presented to the Emperor & all the Royal Family, and taken up our rest on the *Quai de la Cour*, immediately between the Great Winter Palace and that of Grand Duke Constantine. So you will perceive that we commenced hobnobbing with Royalty *ab initio*.

The grand Court balls at the Winter Palace are in progress. One of them came off two weeks ago. The enchanted palace of Aladdin, nor aught of fairy tale, nor "midsummer night's dream" could surpass the splendour magnificence beauty of these entertainments. Indeed some of the oldest Ministers here who have been at the Courts of St. James and St. Cloud told me that the ball we were then attending far exceeded anything they had ever imagined.

During the supper the Emperor *in propria persona* walked around the Diplomatic Table, in order to see that his guests were properly served.

<sup>6</sup> The yacht *Wanderer*, under the flags of the United States and the New York Yacht Club, landed over 400 Negroes (from the Congo) in Georgia in December, 1858. They were sold in South Carolina and Georgia. John R. Spears, *The American Slave-Trade* (New York, 1900), 199-208.

<sup>7</sup> John A. Quitman of Mississippi, Bonham's comrade in arms in the Mexican War and his colleague in Congress, died July 17, 1858. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1439; J. F. H. Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*, 2 vols. (New York, 1860). For Bonham's eulogy in the House of Representatives, cf. *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., 228 (January 5, 1859).

Just think, Sir, of the representatives of the Cow Vine Spring,<sup>8</sup> Log Creek, Beaver Dam, the Dark Corner and the Bloody 7th being waited upon by the Emperor of all the Russias.

I am much pleased with this country. It is one of the very first in every way and will in 20 years find no equal save America.

On last Sunday we went to the races over the Neva, actually over the frozen current of the Neva. The entries were for the first race . . . [The next three lines are hopelessly blotted.]

Ossavottselski won the prize 'midst the shouts of 3000 persons. You would be surprised to witness the crowd & the enthusiasm. Just think of 5000 spectators with their magnificent equipages, servants, furs &c, assembled immediately upon the river, which at 5 feet runs perfectly fresh, rushing and pushing and churning in the most excited manner. The second race was between an Englishman and a peasant from the Caucasus, in Trikoi (which is a species of sledge drawn by three horses)—(This reminded one of the races during the Olympic games, They rush at the most furious rate, & are driven in a manner perfectly [indecipherable] to the uninitiated. The Caucasian won (and I pocketed 50 roubles from the Austrian chargé d'affaires).

After the races we went to see the Laplanders & their reindeer, who also tent upon the Neva, and drive you upon their rude sledges, dragged by 4 deer each. We tried it but the deer threw snow & ice in our eyes to such a degree as to render sight impossible. However, it was worth the trouble as a mere matter of novelty.

I read your letter to Mrs. P[ickens], or rather sent it to her, inasmuch as she is not visible at present. She does not know the ladies of whom you spoke<sup>9</sup> and begs that you will accept her regards. Col. P. says you must be assured of his best wishes and hopes that your political career may end as happily as it has opened auspiciously, and that when you are made Prest. you must remember the eminent services of the *Cow Vine and Beaver Dam* in Foreign lands. And so mote it be in all respects.

Pray make my love to Mrs. Bonham. Misses Rebecca and Jennie return your love in the most cordial manner.

I shall always answer your letters with pleasure, and as I have done this, without delay.

I have the honor to be  
Very *truly* Yours,  
JOHN E. BACON

<sup>8</sup> Cow Vine, etc., were districts in Edgefield County.

<sup>9</sup> Bonham succeeded his cousin, Preston S. Brooks, in Congress, March 4, 1857. Doubtless the allusion is to some ladies of the Russian legation he had met in Washington.

St. Petersburg 14 Oct. 1859

LEGATION

of the

UNITED STATES

My dear Sir

I wrote you a long tedious letter long ago on finances &c but have never recd any answer . . . [The rest of this paragraph asked Bonham to use the enclosed draft to pay a debt for Pickens, and specified the details.]

As to politics, to one at this distance, things look very confused in the U. States.

I fully intended returning this winter, but the war in Europe & the very critical state of affairs here now, induces me to remain, for I would not like to appear indifferent to events that might happen any day in which my country might have a deep stake. I accepted the place, & I do not like to seem more devoted to my own inclination & private interests than to public concerns, particularly if war were to break out again, and such an event would not surprise any one in Europe. But I certainly will return next summer if spared, & have so notified Mr. Cass.

Every thing I see & know in Europe, but makes me turn with fonder & deeper affection to my own native home & country. I do not mean in politics, for God knows, my state has never shown any kindness to me to create any obligation,<sup>10</sup> but I mean natural attachment to my home & the country where my maternal & paternal ancestors, for *three generations*, repose.

The present peace in Europe is only a truce and a hollow one at that. If you care & have time & will look at a long dispatch of mine dated about the 6 or 8 July last you will see the reasons for my thinking it but a truce, for in that dispatch I go fully into the present aspect of Europe &c.

By the by I see our Minister at Paris<sup>11</sup> is dead. It is of great importance that our govt. should have an able active man there at present, for in the opening of spring, France will in all probability, be the centre of great movements upon which the policy of the world may turn. France has 600 000 of the best soldiers ever made—and the best equiped [sic] & best improved fleet for efficient service, & they recently started 20 more steam ships of the line to be ready by spring. I am not of course at liberty to show my reasons in a letter, but the more absolute power of govt. on the continent are disposed to act in concert & sympathy, and the free press and freer institutions of G. Britain are annoying to them. The rapid progress made by the U. S. in the last 10 years, has made our power

<sup>10</sup> Rather ungrateful. His state had honored Pickens by electing him repeatedly to both branches of the legislature, five times to Congress, to the Nashville Convention of 1850, and to the Democratic National Convention of 1856.

<sup>11</sup> John Y. Mason of Virginia, minister from January 22, 1854, to October 3, 1859. He was succeeded by Charles J. Faulkner of Virginia. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1296, 958.

more felt in Europe than ever before & in the future conflicts that must arise, G. Britain will have to fall back upon the U. S. for support far more than upon any continental power. And if our govt. act with wisdom—our joint commerce—Banking power—and great manufacturing state and enterprise will enable us to combat the power of the world. This change is being deeply felt in Europe, and if we had an able man at the French court it would advance our interests and assist to mould the public opinion of both G. Britain & the U. S. as to proper channels for the mutual benefit of Both. But I find myself trespassing upon your time. If you have leisure & think it worth your while, I shall be glad to hear from you as to the general state of things this winter.

Very truly yours,

F. W. PICKENS

I wrote Hammond<sup>12</sup> also a long letter, but do not know if he got it, as he never replied.

[On a separate, and smaller, sheet]

I take the liberty of enclosing an extract<sup>13</sup> from a book recently published by a German who traveled in our country, & his remarks on our slavery are very striking for a European & especially a German, who are all agst. us.

I have had the parts translated, and if you think worthwhile you can have these extracts published so that people might read at least one book of an enlightened traveler who is disposed to do us justice.

It is very seldom you see such things of us in Europe, but all have been prejudiced agst. us through English books & the English press. It would surprise you to see how extremely ignorant they are of us. I have two slaves with me, Tom & Mrs. Pickens' maid, both black & it attracts many remarks here. The Emperor has 4 black men in the Palace dressed in Oriental costume as waiters &c & they have called on Tom & Cinda the maid & paid them great attention, but Tom turns up his nose at them & says they are nothing but Africans & know nothing, Tom goes in full livery & [is] very much courted. He has been out to parties of white people & danced with white ladies, he says—he says they think I am a king in my country & he prime minister. I travelled all through Europe with them, & it gave us extra attention, but still they think that slavery with us is something horrible & barbaric.

The extract I send you you can use it as you please, but in no connexion with my name at all.

Truly

F. W. P.

<sup>12</sup> James H. Hammond, another notable Edgefieldian; representative in Congress, 1825-1836; governor of South Carolina, 1842-1844; United States senator, 1857-1860. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1054; Elizabeth Merritt, *James Henry Hammond* (Baltimore, 1923).

<sup>13</sup> This document was not found and there is no evidence to show whether Bonham acted upon Pickens's hint.

## LETTERS OF JAMES LUSK ALCORN

*Edited by P. L. RAINWATER*

A large part of the Alcorn correspondence was burned in the fire that destroyed the unpublished manuscript of Claiborne's second volume of the history of Mississippi. Within the past two years, the writer has been able to secure from members of the Alcorn family a number of diaries, plantation records, and some one hundred letters written by James Lusk Alcorn. The letters below are selected because they contain especially important material throwing light on the contraband cotton trade in the Confederacy and on the general temper and morale of the people during the war years. The letters contain a wealth of detail and they have the added importance of having been written very close to the events described and without any intention of making them public.

James Lusk Alcorn was born in Golconda, Illinois, in 1816. He was reared in Livingston County, Kentucky, and resided there until 1844 when he removed to Coahoma County, Mississippi. For fifty years, until his death in 1894, Alcorn was closely identified with the history of his adopted state. He was a member of the Conventions of 1851, 1861, and 1890. In 1857, he was made president of the Board of Levee Commissioners at a salary of \$6000 per year, the highest salary paid to any state official at that time. He was elected governor in 1869, defeating Judge Louis Dent, the brother-in-law of President Grant. In 1871 the legislature elected Alcorn to the United States Senate. A controversy with his colleague, Adelbert Ames, over the political control of Mississippi led the two senators to enter the race for governor of Mississippi in 1873. Alcorn was defeated. After his retirement from the Senate in 1877, Alcorn was not again in politics, except that, on the urgent request of leaders in his county, he permitted his name to be placed on the ticket for delegate to the Convention of 1890. He was elected, being one of the two Republicans in that convention which wrote Mississippi's present constitution.

Alcorn was closely identified with the planting interest of Mississippi. On July 17, 1850, he valued his estate, including seventeen slaves, at \$16,625. By 1855, the number of slaves had increased to thirty-nine and the value of the estate to \$65,000. In 1860, he owned ninety-three slaves and valued his estate at \$250,000. The ravages of war left his beloved "Mound Place" in ruins. It is significant that in the twenty years after 1865 when the break-up of Southern plantations was in progress, Alcorn restored his losses and materially added to his property. Eventually, he owned some 12,000 acres of rich delta land on which he built a mansion called "Eagle's Nest" and on which, from the cultivated portion, grew annually from 1200 to 1800 bales of cotton.

Before the war, Alcorn was an Old Line Whig in politics and a lieutenant of Henry S. Foote in the struggle for the Union in 1850-1851. He was the outstanding leader against secession in 1860-1861 but finally voted for secession in the convention when he saw that further opposition was futile. He was one of the four brigadier generals elected by the Mississippi convention but when the Mississippi troops were absorbed by the Confederate States, Jefferson Davis, doubting the loyalty of Alcorn, refused to approve his commission. Meanwhile, Alcorn had led his Mississippi troops into Kentucky but they saw no action as they were disbanded in February, 1862. Alcorn returned to his plantation to remain for the duration of the war.

The letters which follow were written from the Alcorn home, "Mound Place," in Coahoma County, to his wife, Amelia, who with the children were refugees at the paternal home, "Rosemount," near Eutaw, Alabama. The letters are signed "Indian," this being Mrs Alcorn's nickname for her husband.

Mound Place Tuesday Night Nov. 25, 1862

My dear Wife:

On Thursday last Mr. Barbour and Company reached Mound Place bringing your lovely and always acceptable autograph. I read your epistle with mingled feelings of pleasure and pain—pleased to learn that you were with kind friends resting under the roof of your kind old father who bid you welcome to the old childhood home—pained to learn that our lovely little Gertrude was suffering with disease and that you the dear one of my heart was suffering from fatigue

incident and resulting from your anxious cares and labors around her bedside, pained to learn that the country is so destitute of all the luxuries, and most of the necessities of life. I wished you back again and when I associated your return with the accursed Yankees, I felt that I did not know what was best so I now remain in the slough of despond. What is best for us to do the good Lord only knows. Tomorrow morning the wagons start back. I send you all the bacon we have, one barrel of flour, some coffee and sugar, 800\$ Alabama money and 1050.75\$ of Federal money and 2100.00\$ in gold and 1000\$ in Confederate money. I send the larger note in Federal money for the reason that I have more of it than I wish. The fifty cent and twenty-five cent pieces merely to show you the Lincoln postoffice money. The other notes and in fact all, to you should you happen to be thrown into the Federal lines before I can reach you. The Southern bank money will be convenient for change; the Confederate money used in the purchase of corn, purchase at once about eighteen hundred bushels of corn, and have it hauled and cribbed up. Purchase all articles necessary for the subsistence of the negroes, horses and mules that can be obtained. By no means sell Lizetts pony. I had almost as soon sell one of my children; I would pay 5\$ per bushel for corn to feed him but by no means suffer yourself or property to become a tax or encumbrance on others. I have money abundant to support you, and I don't wish you to be stingy in its use. Don't receive any corn of Mr. Creswell or your Grandma except for the cash; thank them affectionately for their generous offer, but do not impose on their good natures. I wish our negroes were further east, but am content to risk them for the time where they are, but I fear we will again have to run when the summer shall return. As to the cause of the South, it is lost, and it only remains to be seen how long the South will hold out, and to what a condition of suffering they will be brought. We will hope for the best, but prepare for the worst. I have not been able to get to Helena since Mr. Minga [overseer], consequently have failed to obtain the supplies desired by your father; this I regret. I had previously purchased for yourself and Mary, several pairs of shoes which I fear are too large. Should you desire to do so you may give Mary a pair, take a pair yourself, and make presents of the others as you wish. I send you also a pair of riding gloves each. I send to your father, as a present a pair of fine boots, and a pair of gauntlets; to Alfred I send a pair of shoes if he will accept them after having been worn by myself, but you know I always managed to have a good supply and I have left a half-dozen pair. I have sent you some of your nice books, partly for your amusement and partly to shield something in a literary way from the Yankees. Mary's horse I return; she wishes him for her amusement. Buy corn and feed him. I have let Mr. Barbour have a pair of shoes for his wife at 2.75\$ and five pair of negro shoes at 2\$ per pr. total 12.75\$. This is all I have paid him. I have given him 50.00\$ for expense money. He will settle with you on his return. I have paid Mr. Alburn a pair of shoes which I had

purchased for Ophelia at 2\$; he you must also settle with. Mr. Barbour's cash account stands thus:

\$ 800.00	Ala. and Ga. and S. C. money
\$1050.75	federal money
\$2100.00	gold (may be short a little)
\$1000.00	Confederate money
\$ 100.00	to be returned to Mr. Glover
\$ 50.00	expense money
<hr/>	
\$5100.75	

Add to this Mr. Barbour's account of \$12.75 and charge Mr. Osburn with \$2.00. Thus you can settle. I send your father's money back; it is of no value in the Federal lines—but say to him that so soon as I can visit Memphis, and I shall go within ten days, I will fill his bill of goods and will send Bill with the wagon. I hope also at the same time to send some nice presents to yourself and the young ladies. When Bill goes I may send Hal with the Buggy to bring my *dear wife home* and in that event you must leave the children and come with Hal alone; what I may do, however, in this respect will depend entirely upon the status of the army at that time. It may be so that I can go myself. This would be a cherished pleasure, to go and bring you, but I fear that I cannot safely go and leave my property and those who lean upon me here. As to my taking all the family to Alabama, I cannot think of it; that would be to abandon all our home estate. I think I can save many thousands by remaining. Duty to yourself and our children requires that I should save from the wreck what I can. I have procured a proficiency for my meat. I shall kill about Christmas and as soon as it takes salt will wagon it out to Alabama. I expect Bill to make several journeys during the ensuing six months. Don't be in fear of starvation. I think I can feed you, but should I fail you have an ample supply of money. Should your father be short of money say to him that I can supply him with as much Confederate money as he may wish. You may be pleased to know how I became so flush of funds; I will tell you. I have sold eighty bales of cotton which brought me \$12,000 and something over; I hope to be able to sell a hundred bales more which will bring me should I succeed \$15,000 more. I sell my cotton at 35 cents per pound and am paid in "greenbacks" such as I send you and with this I can buy in Memphis, Confederate money by the sacks full at from thirty to forty cents in the dollar. I have thought about buying ten or fifteen thousand dollars worth and investing it in a good piece of land in Green (Ala). Do you think it would pay? I think I will also smuggle out three or four thousand dollars more in gold. This will do to keep, but all paper money is bound to depreciate, and I had rather invest it if I could do so wisely, retaining enough to pay me through the war. I have had quite a time of it since you left. I have hauled my cotton mostly at night, and I suppose I have slept a dozen

nights on the open banks of the Mississippi River. I have often been reminded of "Dick Hatterick" in Scott's Guy Mannering as I awaited the arrival of the smuggler, when I caught the sound of his muffled oar or heard the soft tread of his footsteps as he cautiously approached the appointed place of rendezvous. The smuggling business has now become popular and people are beginning openly to trade. Porter's company disbanded for the period of two weeks in order that they might procure *salt* and under this pretext went into a regular trade with the Yankees. I was at Delta a few nights since when near four hundred bales of cotton were openly sold and full fifty men were on the bank participating. There is scarcely an exception in the county—Carnes and Terry, Pettit, Simms, Dr. Hull, John Miller, John Jones and Old Billy Atkinson, and Stanfield Boyd and Lownes Bridges, and in truth I might say there is scarcely an exception. You remember how they once talked. It would astonish you to witness the reaction. The authorities out in the hills, I am told, are furious. A company of soldiers came one night as far as Simms to burn our cotton there on the bank—we were all at the river; Mrs. Simms addressed us a note giving us the information. We thus saved our cotton. A messenger was dispatched for a boat, the boat came, and off the cotton went. I was once taken prisoner by the Federals when at Powells on my cotton business. A regiment of men surrounded the house, took my horse, made Powell, Berryman Withens, Powell's overseer, and myself prisoners. They sacked Powell's house, robbed it of nearly everything, killed all his chickens, ducks and turkeys, killed twenty of his fattening hogs, took all of his mules, horses, and wagons and, as poor Powell expresses it, "tore him wide open." We had to march before bayonets to Helena, and after we got there and I had made the acquaintance of the higher officers, and had been introduced to the very pretty and intelligent wife of the surgeon and I had quite a pleasant time of it and was released and my horse returned, and I treated with marked respect. Powell's family have gone to Illinois; Mrs. King has also gone. He, P[ettit], still professes his Union sentiment, but the Yankees say he lies and continue to plunder him. A few days since the Yankees went down the River in transports to the mouth of White River. The detachment was, I suppose, six thousand strong. Some twenty miles below the Point, there Flim Saunders and others fired into them. The Yankees were furious, landed below, burnt some houses, ravished and raped all the women they could find. 'Tis said they took a man prisoner and eighteen of them defiled his wife. They also went to a widow woman's house a few miles above White River and defiled her and her two young daughters. The soldiers are a detachment of Federal soldiers I am told are today at the Point, five or six thousand on this side of the River opposite Helena. I fear they soon will move on the flank of our army now at Abbeville. This will bring them perhaps thirty thousand strong past our door. I fear for poor Mound Place when the time comes. I am now preparing to return to my camp with Emma and the Girls. I will remain at

home with the negroes and try to keep them from denuding my place. Carnes has gone back to my camp, and I expect that Pettit and Simms will likewise go to the same hospitable quarters. I have seen most of the negroes since you left. Our friend Abe I don't think is doing as well as heretofore. Several expressed a wish to return home, but I did not urge it. I could have induced many to return had I promised not to remove them to Alabama. This I would not promise. I will not lie to my slaves. I knew if I kept them or attempted to keep them here they would do me some mischief. Old man Warren's negroes have served him as mine served me. All have returned to the Yankees who had previously left him, and have taken wives and children, mules and horses. The widow of William Warren has lost both her men. John Clark had six to leave him the other night but caught them after a day's chase. Strange, too, he caught the last one; he owes his good luck to the ignorance of the negroes. They got up to Gordon's place, took Moon lake for the river and kept circling around it. The negroes in the county are thoroughly demoralized and are no longer of any practical value to this vicinity. . . .

Indian.

Mound Place Decr. 18, 1862

*My Dear Amelia*

I have been very busy hiding & selling my cotton. I have sold in all one hundred & eleven bales. I have now here ten thousand dollars in paper (Green backs) and one thousand dollars in gold. I have still some fifty bales of old cotton and about forty bales of new cotton picked but not ginned, if I escape the burners I will be able to realize \$20,000.00 more. I am busy I assure you and am making my time count. I got back from Helena last night, took in two days since fifteen bales and sold them for \$3,200.00 over two hundred dollars per bale. I am now selling at 40 cents per pound; in addition to the money I have on hand, I have three thousand dollars owing to me which I may lose but I think not. Frank & little Bob (Dan's Bob) have returned home. I have not lost any servants since you left. I frequently see the negroes when in Helena. Others speak of returning, particularly G Pratt, and Sam Henderson. Abe also wishes to return, but I will not permit his return. Flora is dead, and Nelly has her children. Were it not for Edward & Mat the negroes now in Helena would come home. Old Robin has gone up the river, told the negroes Massa Jim was too smart a man for him to live that close to, he would fix some trap to catch him certain; Mr. Osburn has told you his story. The Yankees came out two days after he left and travelled, fifteen thousand strong to the mouth of Coldwater, the cavalry went as far as Oakland, and then all returned, they made sad havoc on their march; burnt old man Shelby's gin house also Hulls—and Hatchez—burnt all Hull's fence, killed most of his stock, took all that they had

left, clothes, bedding, burnt all his doors, broke out his window sash, and burnt two of his cabins; at Hills they broke all that fine furniture and threw it into the yard, searched the House and robbed it of ten thousand dollars in money—(I suppose you know Hill is dead this I wrote you). They took off about twenty of Hill's negroes, and killed a great amount of stock. As they returned they took the whole of Simm's negroes, and all his mules and horses. Mrs. Simms has been cooking and Simms poor fellow, with his one arm, had to cut the wood. I went with him to Helena. He obtained several of his mules and horses, but his negroes refused, each and every one, to return; Mrs. S[imms] has gone with Doct. Hull to Mrs. Tarpleys, and S[imms] is *solo* at home. Carnes is across Cold Water, badly scared. Hunt lives at the Cole place. Friars Point is *status quo*, but every house at Delta is burned, *every one*. Powell's dwelling has been burned, by whom is not known. He says it was done by the d---d Guerilloes. Wilson has been taken off by the Guerilloes, and report says his wife and child left to starve. I have moved her to Dan's house; I am feeding both her & Connell's family. Old McLain is living in our house at the Point. I have moved all our books out to Bob Pattersons. The Yankees got Minga's horse. He went to Helena, staid near a week but could not find him, says he is going to return. He still remains with me and will not leave unless I drive him away and this I cannot do. Among the Feds I have made many agreeable acquaintances. I don't think they will disturb me. All appear to like me, and it is said I have great influence with them; they treat me with every respect. I have got a whole lot of things for you and the girls—gloves, shoes, stockings, *et cetera*, will send them after a time. I wish when I send, to send some meat but must wait until it has taken salt! I wish you were with me; you could live pleasantly now with an abundance of good things, including apples of which you are very fond. I will send you everything I can and should I dispose of my cotton in time will come myself. I wish, however, to fill my pocket—and should the war continue, we will spend our summer in New York—and leave them to fight who made the fight. I wish your negroes were out in Walker County Alabama, or about one hundred miles east of where you are. I greatly fear the Yankees will be at Demopolis by May. Should the strife not cease the whole South will be overrun within twelve months.

Minga has just come in at eleven o'clock at night, says Billy Brown passed his house and says the Yankees are again landing in large force at Delta; if so, another movement on Grenada is contemplated. I did hope to get the wagons off before they extended their lines, but I think I can make the trip anyhow, will try when I get ready.

Hadley, Anthony & Bill [slaves] are very faithful, about ten days since I whipped several in the field house including your filthy, lazy Margaret; it helped them greatly, the three first named brought home a barrel of flour each when last at the river. I give all a good supply of coffee and tobacco; they enjoy

it and work well, all appear happy. Frank and Bob appear delighted at being again at home, they are in earnest; appear to be as tired of the Yankees as our Secession neighbors are of the war. Pettit has lost nothing and is selling cotton fast—doing better than he ever did—but they will strike him after a time; he and his wife live in fear. . . . God grant that peace would be restored to us—but I hope this will not be until the democracy are thoroughly dead—then we may have a government of equality, but rather than live under the Jeff Davis rule, I say let the fight go on, and damned be he who first cries hold, enough! I care nothing for my losses, and don't you care. If I live, and the sky should again clear up, and the political sea become calm, I can in five years make a larger fortune than ever; I know how to do it, and will do it; you will always have plenty while Indian lives, so God bless you my lovely wife be cheerful, live in hope, kiss our pledges of love, tell them Papa has not forgotten them. Give Mary my love. My regards to your Papa, your sisters, Miss Sophia, Alfred & wife, and accept an affectionate embrace from your

"Indian"

Should the Federal army move on Grenada the roads may be so obstructed as to make it impossible to bring the wagons.

Mound Place Miss March 16, 1863

My Dear Wife,

It is now eleven o'clock at night. All is still as if in the sleep of death. Mr. Beatty one of the prisoners who was captured on the 19 ult and who has remained with me until this writing has just retired from my room. He has now sufficiently recovered to start for his home in Carroll tomorrow; by him I send this letter for mail. Mr. Simms, who has two letters previously written you is still at home; he goes with Mr. Beatty. Simms takes his girl Camilia & her children. His departure has been delayed by indisposition; they go by water to the hills, down Sunflower by Shufordville, thence into and across the Tallahatchie to the hills; they hope to avoid the Federal fleet and I hope will. On Sunday (yesterday) five large transports passed down bearing about thirty five hundred troops, one hundred horses, artillery, wagons & & this makes the number of eight thousand troops that has passed by our house. Many of the officers called in to see me and we had a social chat; they say there is a large army, about forty thousand to pass here within a few days; they speak confidently of the fall of Vicksburg. I mentioned to you a short time since, in one of my communications that I was more hopeful of the south. Let me now say the hope then cherished has vanished; the reaction which was as I thought then developing itself in the north has been dispelled, worst of all the work was the action of the people, and today the north is *more united* and determined on our destruction than ever, while England has given unmistakable evidence of her determination to let us fight it out while all her moral influence is thrown upon

the side of the north. The South is doomed unless some miracle in the way of military achievements is wrought in our behalf within the next sixty days. As soon as Minga returns, or as soon as the water falls I shall start to see you. I am impatient, out of patience to go and meet you. Not a line have I had from you since Mr. Osburn's visit; you may for aught I know all be dead, but I hope for the best. I am seeking to place you in means to weather the storm. I have succeeded somewhat and still seek to make matters better. Still, where our future lies I know not. I think of Canada at present; we must go where we can educate our children. Our negroes will soon be ashes in our hands, our lands valueless without them. Oh, curse the democratic party for the ruin they have brought me, and give me, Oh God, as a solace in my poverty, the pleasure of witnessing their tears of lamentation. They doubtless boast where you are yet but they will smell sulphur before another year rolls by, then they can sing paeans of praise to their demigod Jeff Davis—the miserable, stupid, one-eyed, dyspeptic, arrogant tyrant who now occupies his cushioned seat at Richmond, draws his twenty five thousand a year, and boasts of the future grandeur of the country which he has ruined, the soil which he has made wet with the tears of widows & orphans and the land which he has bathed in the blood of a people once free, but now enslaved. Oh, let me live to see him damned! and sunk into the lowest hell. My pen has followed a burst of enthusiasm, an outpouring of indignant hatred which I know, when I look at my blighted fortune, I have cause to feel. You will ask how does Mound Place look. I answer—the front yard, handsome, the grass is green, flowers putting forth their leaves, while the carol of the feathered tribe in the early day is sweet to the ear and chastening to the heart. From midway the quarter down to the gate (field gate) next to Barrows there is no fence. The fence around the grass lot [is] all gone. Minga's garden is stripped of all its paling. The gin field has no fence in front. The deer park is partly without rails—deer all killed—poultry all gone—except peafowls; quite a number have returned from their hiding places since the Yankees left, for strange to say they did hide themselves while the Yankees were here. They have, as I said, now returned and when a Yankee boat comes in sight they call out *Yan Koi*. The Yankees repeat the scream as I have written it and look with amazement at the richly plumed fowl. Many of them have never met the fowl before. Our hogs and cattle are gone with but a few exceptions. We have some milch cows left which were placed under guard and thus protected from slaughter. I am now gathering corn; much of that which I had gathered has been destroyed. I will leave twenty thousand bushels to decay in the field. I shall go to Helena tomorrow or next day, or I should say by the next boat up. Genl. Prentiss who is now in command of that post sent me a pass to visit the place and return. Pettit & wife are still at home—but frightened out of their lives. P[ettit] talks all sorts of soft talk to the Yankees. They call me "the old Secesh Chief," but say, "Pettit is a sort of Union man."

Cherru and wife are at Barrow. That place is pretty well picked. There is now, and has been for the past month a Yankee camp at Hunt's Mill, another at Moon Lake. They frequently come up here in squads of two, three, & four, but observe property when about the house. The pass still rises. It is now quite high, beginning to come into the road near Pettit's. I heard from the Point yesterday. The citizens speak of abandoning the place. I have but little doubt it will soon be burned. We are well. Kiss our baby. Love to Mary and my heart's warmest throbs to you dear wife.

*Indian*

Mound Place Miss Tuesday, May 3, 1864

My Dear Wife,

The morning is bright and cool, wind from the north. On Saturday and Sunday it rained, Sunday night rather heavily. Last night and night before we had some frost, yet the foliage is full. The forest clothed deeply green, the corn is up—stand not very good, am replanting. Cotton up, stand good but pale from the cold. Mary and Fanny [daughters by a first wife] returned on Wednesday the 27; they were absent two weeks and two days. Mary succeeded about as I supposed she would; got everything she desired—some fine things for yourself and the young ladies. She and Fanny spent fifteen hundred dollars. I borrowed of Mrs. Atkinson \$1000 for them; Mary borrowed an additional \$500 in Memphis. I have to realize and return this money before I leave. Genl. Buford, I judge, was pleased with Mary. He permitted her to purchase some articles contraband, viz., an oz. of quinine . . . a ream of paper, a specimen of which you have in this sheet. Teasing her he told her she could not visit Memphis without taking "the oath." She assured him that nothing could induce her to take or subscribe to that condition. He replied, "I admire your firmness. You shall not take the oath. You shall purchase your wants, but you must not try to slip anything to the rebels." So on she went, and back she came with a large trunk well packed. She was not searched but acted with scrupulous honesty in bringing nothing which was not permitted; this I was glad to see. Whether I shall be able to obtain any supplies or not I am not able yet to tell. Think the chance a discouraging one. I have not yet been able to get the negroes any clothes. They are rather complaining that others fare better. Say "other people take the oath why can't you." . . . Our prospects for the future in our struggle I think slightly improved, . . . but Jeff Davis is a fool, so stupid, see how unreliable he is? After keeping our soldiers in northern prisons during the winter on his punctilious outlawry of Butler, he comes down in the spring, recognizes Butler and the cartel is resumed. Well may he appoint periods for humiliation and prayer. He is already humiliated; each day is a day of humiliation to him, and his humiliation attaches to the nation, then let us pray. I will

and do join and pray, from the miserable rule of the stupid dolt, from the dominion of the miserable cheat, from the governing control of this democratic humbug, from his proclamations and all his foolish declarations, and from the legislation of his ignorant and blackguard congress, and especially from the presence of his Jewish dispensations of tithes and assessments embodied in the laws and attested by the scribe of the sanhedrin, Judah Benjamin, good Lord deliver us and so praying already humiliated I arise feeling better notwithstanding the oppressive humiliation. [Remainder of manuscript missing.]

Mound Place, Miss. Saturday, January 21, 1865

My Dear Amelia,

On this day week I wrote you but whether you will receive that, or this, or the many other letters I have written you I am left to hope. If you receive all you will read a repetition of news. I have stated the same thing in several letters, so that you should be reasonably well posted should you receive but one.

The country looks sadly; the people bear the appearance and use the language of an inferior race. Many things which I have heard related are amusing but for the reflection of how the present came and what the future is to be. When the Yankees made their great raid in Sunflower whereby the exodus of the colored population came, they took prisoner that old scamp Gipson, Lt. Gipson who was once sent, as he afterwards stated, to Mound Place as a spy upon me. Gipson sought to fly supposing himself unobserved—dashed with his charger into a bunch of cane—hitched his charger and concealed himself in a hollow stump; the horse neighed, the Yankees were in search, Gipson peered above the top of the stump, but seeing the sable soldiers in search, lowered his head, hoping he was still unobserved, and that the horse was only discovered. He soon felt the strong grips of Cuffy's hand on the back of his neck accompanied with the words, "Cum outen dis hole you dam old Sesesh son of a bitch." Gipson surrendered with the best grace he could while Cuffy took him up to his officer with the words, "I scratch dis dam old Sesesh outen de ground, fore god I did." The citizens were generally made prisoner, negroes and all were marched to the Point, then the citizens, among whom was Robinson, Chisom, Fowler & & & were made to mind the stock, mules, horses, and cattle that had been captured, and on this duty they were kept two nights and a day. One of Fowler's negroes testified to Genl. Buford that when he was about to leave home, that F[owler] called for his gun and threatened to shoot him. F[owler] was put on his trial, and denied the charge; the negro confronted him with the statement. F[owler] told the negro he lied; here Buford interfered, asked Fowler if he knew what the Government of the United States thought of him; F[owler] replied he did not. It regards you, answered Buford, "as meaner, lower, and more contemptible than the most villainous negro in the State of Mississippi, and there is no negro, however low, whose word would not be

preferred to yours." Some of Dickerson's negroes left and told B[uford] others wished to come but were restrained by fear. B[uford] threatened D[ickerson] with fire. D[ickerson] went home, called the negroes up, and called upon those who wished to depart to speak out. Some thirty odd declared their wish to depart. He had wagons geared at once, and giving each 5\$ placed them therein, an old negro man who had diseased limbs, who did not declare his wish to go, but D[ickerson] found he had urged others to go—D[ickerson] ordered also into the wagon. Arriving at the Point the negroes were interrogated, when meeting the lame old man Buford said, "Why did you come; do you wish to go with us?" The negro replied, "No—but my master made me come." B[uford] called D[ickerson] up. "Take," said he, "this old man back to your home, care for him and provide for him. I will hold you accountable for his person, and if ought that is evil befalls him I will burn every shingle on your place and punish you besides." So D[ickerson] trudged back with his sacred charge in no very good humor, we may suppose. At Mark Childers's the Federal officer called all the negroes up, mounted a chair in the Hall and made them a speech. Their emancipation, their full and complete freedom from all control of their rebel master was explained to them. The negroes interrogated and told what massa Mark Childers had told them of how the Yankees treated them. The Yankee officer turning and pointing his finger to Childers said, "You knew when you told these people that you lied." Childers mounted a chair on his side of the gallery, and defended himself by stating what he had heard, that he had not been in their camps but thus and thus he had been told. The Yankees pronounced it as all a lie of Childers' own invention, and so the wagons were geared up and all but some twelve or fourteen went—the negroes free, and master a prisoner. Some few weeks since Yates and Powell were walking the streets of Helena in company. A large negro accosted P[owell] with, "How do ye do, Mr. Powell," to which P[owell] returned the salutation with, "Howdy, uncle." The negro replied with an oath, that he did not permit such people as Powell to claim kin with him, he was none of his uncle. P[owell] protested that he sought to be civil, then rejoined the negro angrily, "Call me Mister;" P[owell] and Yates passed on. When at a safe distance, P[owell] ejaculated, "Oh my God; how long before my --- will be kicked by every negro that meets me?" Buford when at the Point made a speech to the people—negroes & all—in which he proclaimed the freedom of the former, and threatened vengeance upon any who by word or deed hindered any of this class of freedom from coming to him. He bade the negroes who remained at home to come to him with complaints of injustice and he would punish the offenders in their persons or property. From this you may imagine our society—the poor down-trodden people make not the slightest resistance. They beg daily for an audience with the General and when he graciously permits this, if he will grant them permission to sell a few bales of cotton—(upon which they pay a tax of twenty six

percent on the proceeds of sale, besides a tax on the goods purchased)—they go away with many thinks and other flattering words are expressed to the General for his clemency and humanity. Should I not be able to get your supplies with acting a part in this puddle of polution, I am quite sure, much as I have at heart your comfort you will have to do without. I have, it is true, been compelled to ask permission to remain on my plantation. He has consented to this; yes, graciously granted me the privilege of staying a time at my own house, provided I shall demean myself as a good boy—of which he is to be the judge—and the negroes of the neighborhood the witnesses. The Lacedemonian Helotes were perhaps lower in their degradation and were more cruelly treated by their masters than are the border southerners. Besides these I am unacquainted with any race who have sunk lower—and none who have descended with such rapidity. Besides the Yankees, the poor citizen has another enemy to contend with who is less ostentatious but not less to be feared on their path. This is the southern soldier. He has likely compounded with his officer, and has procured permission to come into the bottom, to put a check to this demoralizing cotton trade. He has with him ten or twenty men, from Missouri or Texas, whose features are sharpened by hunger, whose eye glares with murder, and whose dress clasped with belt and pistol would establish him as a brigand. The poor citizen cuts new roads for his team and makes his journey to & from the river in the night time, but the gaunt brigand with his keen sight—and sensitive ear—is ever upon the look or listen. He pounces upon the wagon—either with cotton going or goods returning—reads his orders—(Pistol in hand)—to confiscate the property and make the victim a prisoner. The poor trembling citizen knows well what this means. He offers an appeal for sympathy. The soldier compresses his thin lips, points to his rags, his jaded animal, his long service & suffering, his lack of pay, then speaks of his own wife and little ones, whose faces have not been seen for months & years, and bids the citizen know his heart is now steeled against tears, and closed against compassion. But he rejoins, "I am not here to confiscate; I am here for myself; I wish clothes & money—one or both—the tenth of what you convey; I claim some pay up I cannot delay; by my good pistol I extort my dues; for four years I have been taught to live by this." The language is plain, the adjustment is made, the soldiers bids goodby, and citizen turns to the right or left, and plunges deep into wood and cane, to avoid some comrade brigand. Quietly he reposes for a time, then stealthily home he goes, where to listening wife and children, he recounts his adventures, bemoans the loss by the robber, but is thankful for the amount saved—which is quietly hid away—and then prepares for another jaunt, which he prays the gods may be performed without finding a robber on his path. One of the school marms in Helena, I mean negro school marm, has chosen as her companion for life, a large African buck. The civil authorities refused to issue the license, but Buford ordered it to be done. His demand was readily

complied with; the bans were celebrated—she is said to be fair, youthful & intelligent.

Sunday, Jany. 22, 1865

We are all well. I have killed my pork have a fraction over five thousand pounds, my corn is much diminished; I fear I will not be able to get that that is owing to me. I will write soon again.

Ever your affectionate  
Indian

Grenada, Miss. May 16, '65

My Dear Amelia,

I left home on the eighteenth inst.; arrived here on yesterday; will go to Jackson today; will join you in Grenada as soon as I can with propriety leave Jackson. I was quietly reading my books at Mound Place when a detailed Confederate officer entered my room and handed me a letter from our old friend Severson who had been sent from Columbus [Mississippi] by a committee of gentlemen urging me to leave my retreat and come out and give my counsel at last! at last! Oh, my poor misguided country! here my views are sought with some avidity, they appear acceptable, I am opposed to Clark's idea and the popular idea of a convention. We seceded, said we had the right; Yankees denied this; said we were still in the Union and there we should remain, on this we fought; they whipped; we yield; you were right Yankee! You have established your power; we yield; we are and ever have been in the Union; secession was a nullity. We will now take the oath to support the Constitution and laws of the United States; elect our senators and representatives; claim that we have our slaves until slavery is abolished and upon the question of amending the Constitution for its prohibition Mississippi has a vote.

. . . See the storm subside; the bow of promise rests upon its bosom! Oh how the heart rises and swells as I contemplate the beacon of peace, and with imagination loosed, tread once more the flowing avenues of pleasure. I trust we will be happy as a people once more, and that with chastened hearts we will refine our pleasure, and cast no more our joys away. . . .

Your "*Indian*"

## Book Reviews

*A Check-List and Finding-List of Charleston Periodicals, 1732-1864.* By William Stanley Hoole. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1936. Pp. xi, 84. \$1.75.)

In the prospectus of 1834 of the *Southern Literary Messenger* it was declared that "in the annals of the republic of letters, the present may be distinguished as the era of 'periodical literature.'" Mr. Hoole's compilation on Charleston and similar studies of other cities and states go far to prove that such was the case. The more famous or reputable of these periodicals have always been consulted by students, but the historical scholars of our day who search far afield for their materials will welcome this guide to the more obscure magazines of a century ago. They will be grateful, too, for the finding list, supplementary to the *Union List of Serials*, with the holdings of sixty-seven co-operating libraries. Too many compilers in their bibliographical zeal for the title page overlook the point that some other scholar or booklover might like to know where the imprint can be found.

The Charleston check list consists of eighty-two entries arranged chronologically, including nine proposed publications which never materialized. Variations of title, editors' and printers' names, and other customary bibliographical data are given, but unfortunately the inclusive dates of each periodical which the user will desire to catch at a glance are buried in the descriptive paragraph. This reviewer objects to the use in a book of this kind of extensive footnotes for indicating dates of changes of title and of editorship, suspensions of publication, and irregularities and errors in dating and volume numbering, thereby compelling the user to look in two places for similar data. In some entries (Nos. 9, 16, 21, 28, 29) the exact dates of such changes are poorly shown or not at all; in some cases only volume numbers are provided, leaving to the reader the problem of matching them with the probable dates; the note to entry number twenty-seven likewise leaves the reader guessing; the abbreviation "Ju" may mean either June or July. The price of each magazine in this check list is a desirable feature frequently omitted in such compilations. The volume includes a bibliography and an index; the value of the latter would have been greatly augmented by the inclusion of subject entries for the various types of periodicals.

The book contains many arresting details suggestive of fresh or renewed research in Southern history and in the comparative study of journalism. Perhaps this is the chief long-range value of a work of this kind. More than half of

Charleston's periodicals before 1865 were devoted to literature and art, but, as Mr. Hoole points out in his introduction, their average life span was only twenty-five months; the sixteen-year run of the *Southern Quarterly Review* was exceptional. By way of comparison it may be noted that in Richmond, whose total crop of periodicals was considerably less than Charleston's, the distinguished *Southern Literary Messenger*, 1834-1864, was unequaled in quality or longevity; and the average duration of Richmond's literary journals can be approximated at something under four years. In both cities the religious periodical had the best chance of survival. If Charleston was "a graveyard for magazines," very probably she was not unique in this respect among Southern, or American, cities. Belles-lettres, however, which held forth in many newspapers and in a wider variety of periodicals in ante-bellum decades than today, found least support in the South, among the older sections of the United States, for a number of reasons given by Mr. Hoole. Another suggestive point for the research student arises from the specialized subjects of a few of these Charleston publications—modern languages, botany, chess, and insurance. Mr. Hoole has moved this reviewer to probe the periodicals of Richmond and other Virginia cities.

University of Virginia

LESTER J. CAPPON

*Virginia Newspapers, 1821-1935. A Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes.* By Lester J. Cappon. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. Pp. xiii, 299. \$5.00.)

This work, a publication of the University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, is by Doctor Cappon, archivist and assistant professor of history in the University of Virginia. Like his *Bibliography of Virginia History since 1865*, *Virginia Newspapers* is a storehouse of useful information. It is Part I of a *Guide* to Virginia historical sources now in process of preparation and planned to include an inventory of the state and county archives and of Virginia manuscript collections in repositories throughout the state. As the years prior to 1821 are covered in the well-known Brigham compilation of early American newspapers, *Virginia Newspapers* begins with 1821. While individual libraries have published check lists of their newspapers, it is the first guide of all those of one state since 1820. Over 1750 titles are included.

Other features of this research guide will prove helpful. First among these is an "Historical Introduction" of thirty-one pages, which deals with the high points of Virginia journalism during the period covered. Topics of this sketch are indicative of its scope and content. Among these are "The Editor in Politics," "Whig Papers vs. Democratic," "News Service," "Notable Virginia Editors," "The Election of 1860 and Secession," "Influence on Public Opinion," "The Republican Press," and "The Populist Movement." Scarcely less valuable is an alphabetically arranged list of titles covering eighty pages, a bibliography

of four pages, and a "Chronological Guide." The subject matter proper is presented under the names of places of publication listed in alphabetic order and referred to by serial numbers rather than by pages.

As stated by its author and compiler, *Virginia Newspapers* is "in a very real sense . . . a cooperative work." Not only did he have the help of numerous Virginia libraries and collections, but other libraries and collections were drawn upon. Among those not so well known locally but found to be helpful repositories were the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Athenaeum, the Connecticut State Library, the Western Reserve Historical Society, the University of Texas Library, and the Henry E. Huntington Library. It is the earnest hope of the reviewer that this pioneer and well-executed work will prove an incentive and guide to other archivists to do the same sort of thing for other states.

West Virginia University

C. H. AMBLER

*Black Laws of Virginia: A Summary of the Legislative Acts of Virginia Concerning Negroes from Earliest Times to the Present.* By June Purcell Guild. (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1936. Pp. 249. \$2.00.)

This "summary of the Legislative acts of Virginia concerning Negroes from the earliest times to the present" deals with free Negroes as well as slaves, and contains, in addition, considerable material on white indentured servants. Sometimes the laws are paraphrased, sometimes they are given in the original text, but there is no way of telling which method is being followed in any particular case. Though chapter and year are consistently given, no bibliographical references are available. Consequently the work has little value as a collection of primary material. Though the acts are arranged chronologically under each chapter heading, there is considerable overlapping, and one must use the index if he would trace the legislative trend on any particular line.

Despite these shortcomings the book contains valuable material for the study of the Negro in Virginia. The small number of African slaves brought into the colony during the seventeenth century accounts for the fact that most of the legislation of that period refers to "servants" rather than slaves. An act of 1639 excepted Negroes from the category of persons required to provide themselves with arms, and they are mentioned incidentally in other early legislation; but the first important law concerning them appears to be one of 1662 providing that "children got by an Englishman upon a Negro woman shall be bond or free according to the condition of the mother, and if any Christian shall commit fornication with a Negro man or woman, he shall pay double the fines of a former act." Until about 1680 the word Negro was used in the original Virginia laws, but after that date there is an increasingly frequent use of the word mulatto, showing that the consequences of miscegenation were becoming more and more apparent.

The lot of the free Negro was often less enviable than that of the slave. He did not become a citizen, but was hedged about with laws which frequently hampered him in earning a livelihood and left him little more freedom than was enjoyed by his brother in bondage. The laws on the subject of free Negroes and those intending to limit the institution of slavery are most interesting. In 1691 it was provided that no one might free a slave without sending him out of the colony within six months. In 1723 a law was passed declaring that no slave should be set free except for meritorious service, to be adjudged by the governor and council. In 1778 it was enacted that no slave should be brought into Virginia, and four years later a general law was enacted enabling masters to liberate their slaves. In 1785 it was provided that slaves brought into Virginia and kept in the state for a year should become free, but in 1806 this was changed and such slaves were to be forfeited by their masters and sold for the public benefit. It was now again provided that emancipated slaves should leave the state within a year. In 1812 it became legal for immigrants to the state to bring their slaves with them, and in 1819 it was provided that any slaves born within the United States might be brought into the Old Dominion. Thus the period of the Revolution witnessed a movement for the limiting of slavery in Virginia, but this had run its course before 1820. A perusal of the book suggests many such interesting problems.

By the time of the Revolution the Negro had practically displaced white servants in the colony. At the outbreak of the War between the States, out of a population of approximately one and a half million, over one third were Negroes. Not only had the number of slaves increased, but despite all efforts to prevent it, there was an ever-increasing number of free Negroes. In 1833 the state appropriated \$18,000 annually for five years for the transportation of free Negroes to Liberia, and in other ways co-operated with the American Colonization Society to rid herself of "the great black albatross" around her neck. Even in a casual reading of the volume, one will find strange legal complications arising out of the fact that in law a Negro was a chattel and at the same time a person who was held responsible for any crimes he might commit; and will discover numerous sidelights on racial psychology and history.

University of Virginia

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

*Population Distribution in Colonial America.* By Stella H. Sutherland. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. xxxii, 353. Tables, maps. \$4.00.)

Dr. Sutherland makes two contributions in this study. First, and of most importance, are three dot maps which depict the distribution of the population of the American colonies in the 1770's; second, are the historical accounts of the course and processes of settlement in the individual colonies. Much information has been assembled relative to the national origins of various groups of settlers

in individual colonies, to the occupational and religious composition of the immigrants and their objectives, and to the growth of the Negro population and the factors influencing this growth. A sixteen-page bibliography, a fifty-five-page appendix on colonial imports and exports as of 1771-1772, and thirty-five tables, chiefly of population, are included.

Dr. Sutherland's task was rendered difficult by lack of, or incompleteness of, census returns for certain colonies. The colonial governments were interested in population growth for military and fiscal reasons and to meet the frequent inquiries of the Lords of Trade. In the 1770's censuses were taken in the Northern colonies other than Pennsylvania and Delaware. In the South incomplete census returns were secured in Virginia; for the Carolinas and Georgia there are no returns. To determine the population distribution in colonies where census returns are not available for the colony and its constituent parts, or where such returns are inadequate, the author has made use of tax lists and has multiplied the number of taxables for counties, etc., by coefficients that appear satisfactory and representative. As no tax lists are available for South Carolina and Georgia in the immediate pre-Revolutionary period, other methods of estimate are used: the estimated population of South Carolina for 1775 is distributed in the same proportions as the population was distributed at the time of the census of 1790; the distribution for Georgia is derived from a governor's estimate and the records of head grants after 1752.

In both the Northern and the Southern colonies topography and the nature of the soil exercised a preponderating influence upon the course and extent of settlement. Colonists were lured mainly by the desire for land. In general the population followed the course of rivers and well-worn trails, often into fertile but remote farming areas. Already before the Revolution migrants had pushed across the Alleghenies. In certain respects, however, the course of settlement in the South differed from that farther north. First, differences in the distribution of population developed because of differences in the system of land tenure and the regulations governing tenure. Second, in the South, particularly in the tide-water area, climatic and health conditions exercised a positive influence upon population distribution, the growth of the Negro population, and the type of agricultural system eventually established. Third, the type of economy established in the South was less favorable to the growth of towns than that in the North, only slowly-growing Baltimore and Charleston assuming the proportions of important towns.

I have compared the population patterns revealed in Dr. Sutherland's maps with those revealed in several maps prepared for recent periods by my colleague, Professor B. F. Lemert, and find in the former no such conspicuous patterns as in the latter. This difference is attributable in part to the greater detailedness of contemporary materials.

Studies such as Dr. Sutherland's would be much more helpful to social

scientists seeking to understand the processes of settlement were topographical and soil maps drawn to the same scale as population maps and included for purposes of comparison by laying one map over the other. It would be of great value to students of American history were someone to prepare population dot maps for the different states or regions as of, say, every other census date since 1790, these to be superimposable upon topographical, soil, etc., maps drawn to the same scale. From a series of such maps one could learn much more of the comparative influence of geographical and nongeographical (or cultural) factors upon population distribution, and of changes in the relative importance of such factors, than one could learn from a multiplicity of descriptive accounts, too localized and too great in number to be taken in by the mind's eye and converted by the mind into generalizations, contingent processes, and tentative laws.

Duke University

JOSEPH J. SPENGLER

*A History of Printing in the United States. Volume II, Middle & South Atlantic States.* By Douglas C. McMurtrie. (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1936. Pp. xxvi, 462. \$6.00.)

Books like this, in America at least, seem to come along once in sixty years. It is 126 years since the appearance of Isaiah Thomas' *The History of Printing in America* (Worcester, 1810). The second edition of that famous work, with J. R. Bartlett's additions, was published in 1874. This may seem like a poor record, when one thinks of the shoals of histories of printing in Germany, England, France, and Italy. But a glance at the very informative map which constitutes the end papers of Mr. McMurtrie's book will do much to explain and justify the apparent backwardness of America. Printing began in Germany about 1450—Wyoming's first press dates from 1863. You can put most of Germany inside the state of Wyoming—but after all, four centuries are four centuries. When Isaiah Thomas wrote, twenty-two of the forty-eight states had yet to see a printing press, and Thomas knew nothing of printing in Indiana, Alabama, or Michigan, all of which had presses at the time he wrote.

It is easy to see that McMurtrie has set himself no mean task, and his subtitle, "The story of the introduction of the press and of its history and influence during the pioneer period of each state in the union," is necessary. This volume two appears before volume one, and volume three may probably be expected before we get the information as to whether Matthew Day or Stephen Day was the first printer in the United States.

The story of printing in the Middle States preserves the old chronology (in the arrangement of chapters) by putting William Bradford of Pennsylvania first. But while this book was being written, there appeared Lawrence Wroth's brilliant study in the *Colophon*, whereby the primacy of the Middle States passes, for the time being, to Maryland. Mr. McMurtrie took advantage of

Wroth's study, but apparently not in time to rearrange his chapters. Besides, it may yet be that a Bradford imprint will appear earlier than those of William Nuthead at St. Mary's City. Mr. McMurtrie wisely allows for future discoveries. Even so recent a contribution as Dr. Rosenbach's paper before the Philobiblon Club, establishing the first issue of the Atkins *Kalendarium*, Philadelphia [1685], is recognized in this comprehensive work. Franklin properly gets a chapter to himself, as does Philadelphia during the Revolution.

After the introduction of printing into Maryland and Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in 1685, New York finally got on the map in 1693, and Mr. McMurtrie's studies are, quite properly, based on the findings of Dr. Wilbforce Eames. Virginia may have had printing in 1682, but no one can prove it by showing a specimen.

It is, however, in the states which have been less studied that the author naturally makes his best original contribution, that on South Carolina being a monograph in itself. Although Seidensticker had compiled a bibliography of the Pennsylvania German Press, McMurtrie has added to our knowledge, and in the chapter on western Pennsylvania there is much that is new in a secondary work of this sort. The history of printing in North Carolina is still based on Stephen B. Weeks, but this is in recognition of the fact that Weeks did a good job. The chapters on New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia may be regarded as almost new studies.

A specialist in details can find flaws in this work if he tries. He can, for example, enquire why so little attention is paid to Robert Bell in Philadelphia. But since Mr. McMurtrie's ambitious work is based on a host of his monographs covering the whole country, many of which have been printed in the states to which they relate, the critics have already had ample opportunity to correct the author's findings. Of these criticisms he has taken full and conscientious advantage. Minor omissions will probably be pointed out by local historians, but if a local historian did not tell Mr. McMurtrie in time, it is probably the critic's fault, as the author's travels in the preparation of this work have been astonishing. If the work of the specialist in the origin of printing in "Jonesville, Texachusetts," is not duly noted in McMurtrie, it is no doubt due to the fact that the specialist did not bother to meet McMurtrie when the latter was in "Jonesville."

Librarians may just as well set aside the money to buy subsequent volumes, because they cannot well ignore this work. It is to be hoped that the increasing emphasis on cultural and social history will through this book enable the lecturer on, and the teachers and writers of, American history to make the public see that the history of printing is a part of history.

The author of this book is to be commended for calling his work a history of printing in the "United States," rather than a history of printing in "America."

We sometimes forget that Mexico printed books for one full century before a press appeared anywhere in the land of her often bumptious Northern neighbor.

Clements Library, University of Michigan

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS

*French Catholic Missionaries in the Present United States (1604-1791).* The Catholic University of America *Studies in American Church History*, Volume XXIII. By Sister Mary Doris Mulvey. (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1936. Pp. ix, 158. \$1.25.)

*The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier (1785-1812).* The Catholic University of America *Studies in American Church History*, Volume XXV. By Sister Mary Ramona Mattingly. (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1936. Pp. viii, 235. Map. \$1.25.)

These studies are doctoral dissertations which were submitted to the Catholic University of America. They possess the characteristics which are expected of such works: clear but simple presentation of facts gathered during an investigation of sources bearing on the subject, treatment that is free from bias, adequate citation of material in footnotes and bibliography, and conclusions derived from the investigation. As monographs in church history they are creditable to the authors and the university which has published them.

Considerable difference, however, may be noted in the character of the two studies. The first covers a field in which great historians have written and in which the published sources are voluminous. The significance of the work is not the use of new and unused sources, for the author states that her book is based on printed sources and secondary writers. Since other volumes in the *Studies* have treated parts of this field the value of this work depends to a considerable degree upon the co-ordination of the various elements in one story. After introducing the reader to the church in New France, the author describes the work of French missionaries in New England, in reality Maine, in the Iroquois country, in the Old Northwest, in the Illinois country, in French Louisiana, and in the present United States, 1763-1791. A summary and conclusion brings the text to an end with the appointment of John Carroll as the first Catholic bishop in the United States. This is a good terminal point for the appointment gave prestige and authority to the organization which had resulted from the labors of the missionaries and the coming of Catholic immigrants to the United States, marking a new period of Catholic church history. The earlier chapters are rather unimaginative in a field where Parkman found so much heroism, and at times the narrative becomes a rather dull relation of the details of missionary activity. It does not transcend in scope a strictly religious history. One of the best chapters, on French Louisiana, will be of particular interest to students of Southern history.

The second study is broader in scope than the first, for it includes chapters on Catholic life on the frontier; economic, social, and political conditions; and religious relationships in early Kentucky. In addition there are other chapters on post Revolutionary Maryland, the journey and early days in Kentucky; pioneer priests and parishes; growth of the church in Kentucky; and the Bardstown diocese. The author has used original material preserved in church archives in the District of Columbia and in Maryland and Kentucky. Indications are given that in these archives information may be found on a broad range of subjects. Many works on American history were used, and generally the secondary authorities cited were well selected. The lack of bias, even in the treatment of interchurch relationships, is commendable. The influence of the frontier in stimulating the forces of democracy in religion, the adaptation of church methods to a scant population, contributions of non-Catholics to the Catholic church, the use of courthouses and even Protestant churches by Catholic missionaries, and the foreign nativity of the priests are interesting incidents of the story. The main narrative centers around the migration of Catholics from Maryland to Kentucky and the growth of the religious organization which developed upon this foundation.

Louisiana State University

JOHN D. BARNHART

*Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936.* Prepared under the Auspices of the Knights of Columbus of Texas Historical Commission, Paul J. Foik, C. S. C., editor. Volume I, *The Finding of Texas, 1519-1693*, and Volume II, *The Winning of Texas, 1693-1731*, by Carlos E. Castañeda. (Austin: The Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, 1936. Pp. xvi, 444; xiv, 390. Illustrations, folding maps. \$5.00 each volume.)

These two books constitute a history of Texas from 1519 to 1731. They begin a seven-volume series under the general title *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*. The choice of this title was unfortunate: it may serve to halt a few prospective readers who take titles too seriously, and it is not inclusive enough to indicate the scope of the subject matter. Volumes I and II are not only substantial contributions to the history of religions, but also may logically be regarded as regional history or studies in the advance of the Spanish frontier. Civil and military history is treated along with ecclesiastical, and in seeking historical springing boards for events in Texas, the author places more emphasis upon the political than upon the religious background in Spain and Mexico. These volumes may further be considered as one notable result of the successful effort to assemble materials on the Spanish period of Southwestern history by the libraries of the University of Texas and St. Edwards University at Austin, the Bancroft Library and the Library of Congress. Many of these materials have been used in monographs but the books under review contain the first detailed

account in which full consideration has been given to practically all manuscript records available in libraries in the United States.

The series is being written under auspices of the Knights of Columbus of Texas Historical Commission whose present plan is to issue an additional volume during each of the next five years. Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda, Latin-American Librarian of the University of Texas Library, will carry a major portion of the burden of authorship since he is the author of the first two volumes, has almost completed the third, and will write others. Dr. Castañeda has been preparing, whether consciously or unconsciously, for this task for ten years or more; his custodianship of the Garcia Collection and related groups of documents in the University of Texas Library, his searches for documentary materials in Mexico, and his translations and writings have contributed to his preparation.

In *The Finding of Texas* (Vol. I) all of the early Spanish expeditions into Texas receive extended treatment. In addition, the beginning of missionary activity and the story of La Salle's colony in Texas are related at length. Treated for the first time in a modern account are the shipwreck in 1553 of a band of Dominican friars on Padre Island and the attempt of Cortes to occupy the mouth of Rio Grande (contrary to conclusions reached by several other authorities, here identified as the "Rio de las Palmas").

Dr. Castañeda plunges boldly into the murky smoke of controversy in definitely outlining the routes followed by Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, and Moscoso with his remnant of De Soto's followers. Each of these questions has been studied intensively by several scholars, practically all of whom have arrived at different conclusions. Because of the manifest difficulty of solving these problems, because the evidence concerning them is incomplete and often obscure, the author is perhaps a bit too certain that he has reached the only tenable conclusions on subjects which can never be definitely settled. With one or two possible exceptions, however, Dr. Castañeda works out plausible and logical solutions to the problems, very properly placing stress on topographical evidence. His major conclusions on these points are in outlining the Cabeza de Vaca route somewhat as did Harbert Davenport and Joseph K. Wells (*Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXII, XXVII) and Dr. R. T. Hill (Dallas *Morning News*, July 30, 1933, and various following issues); in agreeing with the David Donoghue theory (*Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXII) that Coronado's Quivira was in the Texas Panhandle, not in Kansas; and in holding that the De Soto band probably passed near modern Wichita Falls and reached Crosby County, northwest of the Waco vicinity, heretofore designated as the likely westward terminus of the wanderings of De Soto's men. But after all, the tracing of the exact route of various Spanish explorers is chiefly a matter of antiquarian concern and of little consequence in following the course of the

main stream of Southwestern history, which is a task on which Dr. Castañeda has made an admirable beginning.

*The Winning of Texas* (Vol. II), dealing with the years from 1693 to 1731, presents the fullest account of the establishment of the Texas missions yet published. The activities of St. Denis, the founding of each of the missions, life in the missions, the establishment of San Antonio—all are here given in authoritative form, together with their relation to the French frontier. A chapter on a neglected phase of early exploration history—that of the Big Bend country along the Rio Grande—is particularly welcome.

The narrative is clearly written, though—as befits a good history—it has neither the emotional appeal nor the sheer readability of a *Gone With the Wind*. In places, however, through the necessary objectivity which distinguishes a large portion of the two volumes, there percolates down intimations that people who breathed and fought and loved, and not too often hated, are being written about. There is, for example, a very human interplay of personalities in the story of the common soldier, Mateo Pérez, and his benefactor, Father José González (II, 196 ff.). And, incidentally, the author's anti-González point of view illustrates the fact that the clergy are by no means given a complete whitewashing in these pages.

Both volumes are exceptionally well-indexed and contain more than adequate bibliographies which indicate where all manuscripts used may be found. Most of them are in the libraries of the University of Texas or St. Edwards University in either the original or photostat form.

Dr. Castañeda's books undoubtedly deserve high recognition for their illumination and unification of early Texas exploration and mission history. The next two volumes, which will deal with the missions at their height, should be awaited with interest.

National Park Service

WILLIAM R. HOGAN

*Official Correspondence of the Texas Revolution, 1835-1836.* 2 volumes. Edited by William C. Binkley. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. Pp. liv, 556; xix, 557-1125. \$10.00.)

The publication of documentary material bearing on the early history of Texas is always gratifying to investigators in that field, especially to those who do not find it practicable to sojourn for long periods in Austin where most of the originals are to be had. Early in this century the American Historical Association published the *Diplomatic Correspondence of Texas*, edited by George P. Garrison; a few years later E. D. Adams' *British Correspondence Concerning Texas* appeared serially in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*; and more recently the *Austin Papers*, revealing much of the story of Texas colonization, were edited by Eugene C. Barker and published by the American Historical Association and the University of Texas. Now comes Dr. Binkley's *Official*

*Correspondence of the Texas Revolution*, making available in print the more important documents selected from forty-three manuscript collections containing in the aggregate many thousands of documents. By far the greater part of these letters has been taken from the thirty-four manuscript collections and five letter books in the Texas State Library at Austin, but the Dienst Collection and the unpublished Austin Papers, in the University of Texas Library, and the Morgan and the Williams Papers, in the Rosenberg Library at Galveston, have been drawn upon. Beyond a doubt the editor, who has been prepared for his work by years of investigation in this and related fields, has examined every important collection extant that might supply such material. In his introduction he locates and gives concise descriptions of each collection that has been drawn upon, a service of inestimable value to investigators who may henceforth find it necessary to use the original papers.

The documents are arranged chronologically, being grouped under the five provisional governments that prevailed in Texas between October, 1835, and October, 1836. Nineteen letters are devoted to the Permanent Council, which was the first provisional government; there are twenty-eight listed under its successor, the Consultation; about three hundred are grouped under the ill-fated Governor and Council government; twenty under the Convention of March, 1836; and about five hundred and eighty under the Ad Interim government, which began at the close of the Convention on March 17 and continued until President Burnet turned over the government to Sam Houston on October 22, 1836.

Inserted at various places in conformity with the chronological arrangement of the material are lists of "intervening letters printed elsewhere." Fortunately for research students the list of publications containing this correspondence is short, and most of the titles are to be had even in good private libraries. Thus by using Binkley's work and a few books such as the material edited by Garrison and Barker, Gammel's *Laws of Texas*, the *Lamar Papers*, files of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, and the histories by Johnson, Yoakum, Brown, and Foote, an investigator can quickly locate and read almost any important official letter written during this period. No greater service has ever been rendered by way of lessening the drudgery of research work in Texas. In this connection it should be stated that Dr. Binkley has interpreted the words *official* and *letter* quite liberally in order to include certain important material which, under too strict usage, he should have been obliged to leave out.

A review of this work would not be complete without mention of the excellent explanatory introductions that precede each division of the collection. More impressive still is the introduction to the entire work which is the most thought-provoking and satisfactory analytical review and summary of the Texas Revolution that has yet appeared in print. Historians of the future will, no doubt, use this material frequently, but few will ever master it so thoroughly as the man who has edited it.

The scholarly work of the editor is in evidence on every page and will prove a delight to investigators. Although he found it necessary to omit a great many documents, his selection of material seems to have been wise and well-designed to serve the interest of the social and economic as well as the military and political historian. There are letters from Neill, Travis, Bowie, and others that help explain why the Texas soldiers decided to remain in San Antonio; there is much information concerning volunteers from the United States; various letters give graphic descriptions of the confusion that prevailed among civilians as the Mexicans advanced; other communications reveal the stubborn efforts of Burnet and his cabinet to hold the government together and avoid complete demoralization during the desperate time of flight and panic; other documents contain much information on trade and commerce; and scores of letters throw light on the financing of the Texan cause.

The biographical information in the footnotes surpasses anything this reviewer has seen in any other similar work. The editor is not satisfied simply to give citations to biographical sketches of prominent men but manages to identify and inform the reader concerning countless comparatively obscure persons whose relation to the revolution was only casual. Likewise he has identified and located isolated towns and communities; he has pointed out erroneous and misleading statements made by the writers of that day; he has corrected the mistakes of careless copyists wherever it was possible to do so by comparing their work with the originals; and through his labor and painstaking care he has given new meaning to documents meaningless or misleading within themselves. The index is comprehensive and well-designed.

The documents have been copied faithfully and with minute precision. Occasionally empty brackets appear in some letters indicating that the flimsy paper of the original has crumbled away so that the fragments lost can never be restored except through conjecture. Although these lacunae do not seriously impair the usefulness of the letters they remind the reader that many important historical documents in the Texas archives will soon be lost beyond recovery unless they are printed. Furthermore they bear witness to the great service that has been rendered by Dr. Binkley and the American Historical Association in giving new life and broader usefulness to the more important papers in these collections.

Hardin-Simmons University

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON

*The History of Bell County.* By George W. Tyler. Edited by Charles W. Ramsdell. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1936. Pp. xxiii, 425. Maps, illustrations. \$4.00.)

This work traces the development of one of the earlier counties of Texas from its beginning as a part of Robertson's colony to modern time. The author, whose parents arrived with the first colonists, has revived memories and facts

that will be of much interest to the people of Bell County and to those who enjoy "well authenticated" and "positive tradition." Written as a tribute to the people of Bell County, the author has listed most of the names of those who played a part in the growth of the county and of natives who had rôles bad and good in broader fields.

The hardships that were faced in the earlier periods were typical of American frontiers. Stories about Indian depredations and cruelty are given considerable space, and the sketches, usually recited as reminiscences by participants, are colorful. During the Texas Revolution, the Civil War, Reconstruction, World War, and other periods of uncertainty most citizens served loyally. A noteworthy part of the story concerns the Civil War. Although that part of Texas was not faced with the greatest hardships and dangers of the war, the loyalty for the cause and the response in men and supplies was not less than other sections. The local tax for the support of the participants' dependents and organized home industry were interesting means of meeting the problem general over the South.

The social history in this volume is valuable for an understanding of the problems of a growing country; told by one who experienced the hardships and helped in making the progress possible, the picture may be trusted. The author has done a good job in steering through a maze of Texas history without losing sight of Bell County and particularly Belton, the county seat. Land improvement, railroad development, government, finance, and other local problems are given a reliable background of more general history. A valuable part of the book deals with the development of schools and the record is an enviable one. But many inconsequential incidents mar the story and the reader may be at a loss to find chronology in parts of the work.

The book abounds in typographical errors and the printing is poor. The inconsistency in footnoting and forms of listing names in the text detracts from its value. It is regrettable that such a great amount of effort will be of little interest except for those who are closely connected with the memories of or with present Bell County. But then it was written for them.

Louisiana State University

FRED COLE

*Santa Anna: The Story of an Enigma Who Once Was Mexico.* By Wilfred Hardy Callcott. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936. Pp. xiv, 391. Bibliography, illustrations. \$3.00.)

This is Professor Callcott's third contribution in the field of Mexican history, his *Church and State in Mexico* having been published in 1926, and his *Liberalism in Mexico, 1857-1929*, in 1931. As the author states in his acknowledgement, to write a definitive biography of Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna in one volume is an impossibility, since that would involve nothing less than a political

and military history of Mexico for more than half a century following 1810. An endeavor therefore has been made to use source material "to give a balanced picture of the times against which appear the career of this stormy petrel of both Mexican and international politics."

Taking as his cue the strange resemblance between the life of this enigmatic figure and the course of a turbulent summer's day, the author with telling effect divides his narrative into five acts of a drama: Daybreak, Morning, Afternoon, Dusk, and Dark. In the drama, tragedy and comedy stand out in glaring contrast. The result is a volume of absorbing interest, clear and straightforward, and free from dogmatic opinions. It would be difficult to compress into one statement an adequate characterization of this remarkable figure, at once the hero and the villain of the piece. Perhaps the author comes near doing this when he says, "the Almighty, in His wisdom, had seen fit to bless this child of destiny with a marvelous personality, tremendous energy and a facile brain, but, for some inscrutable reason, had omitted the balance wheel and left him an opportunist" (p. 315).

It is a pity that a volume, entailing so much research and, on the whole, written in such a fluent style, should be marred by typographical errors, indicative of careless proofreading. "Flare" (p. xiii) should be flair; "heroizing" (p. 357) is an uncouth solecism. The last sentence in the second paragraph on page thirty-two needs recasting.

The application to President Polk of Bret Harte's well known apostrophe of the "heathen Chinee" seems to the reviewer unjust. Certainly it does not accord with the estimates of such scholars as Justin H. Smith and E. I. McCormack. Despite his notable achievements, it still seems to be the fate of Polk to be ignored or condemned.

The volume contains fifteen illustrations, a *dramatis personae*, a table of dates, a briefly descriptive bibliography "as an introduction to the most readily available Santa Anna material," and an adequate index. The book is composed in Linotype Granjon; the cover is emblematic of the contents.

H. Sophie Newcomb College

JAMES E. WINSTON

*Henry Clay and the Whig Party.* By George Rawlings Poage. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. vii, 295. Bibliography, frontispiece. \$3.50.)

Whoever prepared the "jacket" for this volume described the book as "A 'News Behind the News at Washington' for the years 1840 to 1850." If this were really the standard by which the work should be judged it would be necessary to say that the general reader had been ill-treated. For Mr. Poage would be found to have missed many very amusing bits of "news behind the news," such for example as the entertaining, if not edifying, picture presented by the French

minister to the United States, M. de Bacourt, of his visit to Mr. Ewing, secretary of the treasury in President Tyler's cabinet, where he found Mr. Badger smoking a cigar which he did not extinguish; Mr. Bell on a sofa with his feet over the arms; and Mr. Crittenden with his coat off, and a great roll of tobacco on which he was chewing. But the truth is that Mr. Poage's book is not of this sort. It does not specialize in contemporary gossip. On the contrary, though narrow in outlook and based on a limited amount of documentary material, it is a sober monograph which reveals much diligent and detailed research. Mr. Poage informs the reader, at the start, that, begun as an attempt to present Henry Clay as a political leader, his book has "become in effect the last part of a political biography." This is literally true; the political element is practically the only one stressed.

A brief introductory chapter sketches the whole of Clay's career down to the election of 1840. It is to be regretted that the author has cut down the interpretation of the years between 1830 and 1840 to such a vanishing point. While the panic of 1837 is indeed mentioned, the interweaving of American politics of the long protracted depression and of the various schemes proposed to bring a return of prosperity is left to the reader's imagination.

Describing Harrison and Tyler in the light of Clay's ambitions and purposes, Mr. Poage takes up the first large topic of the book, the quarrel between Tyler and the Whigs and particularly Clay's part therein. This covers something over a third of the text. A single and not very adequate chapter covers the years from the disruption of 1841 to the emergence of the Texas question. Thereafter follows an elaborate account of Clay's course in the agitation over Texas, the campaign of 1844, the period of the Mexican War, the election of 1848, and the months which brought to pass the Compromise of 1850. This is the main body of the work; a single chapter tells of Clay's last years.

On the periods in which Clay was most active politically, Mr. Poage has written with great and painstaking detail, in high contrast with the brevity which marks his account of the intervening years. But besides this chronological antithesis the reader will observe also an excess of emphasis on a few topics, to the neglect of others. Except for a faint allusion here or there the foreign relations of the United States appear to have had, in Mr. Poage's estimation, very little political significance. But even if one considers domestic politics alone one is astonished at the slight attention given in the early part of the book to anything besides the bank question, while in the remainder of the work the slavery controversy excludes all other issues. In the index one looks in vain for the titles, "American system," "tariff," "protection," "assumption of state debts," "public lands," "distribution," "pre-emption," "graduation"; and if these topics are mentioned in the text it is only in a most incidental way. As one looks over the list of secondary works presented in the bibliography, he notes the absence of such monographs as R. G. Wellington's *The Political and Sec-*

tional Influence of the Public Lands, 1828-1842 (1914); R. C. McGrane's *The Panic of 1837* (1924), *The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle* (1919), and *Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts* (1935); D. B. Goebel's *William Henry Harrison: A Political Biography* (1926); and R. H. Shryock's *Georgia and the Union, 1850* (1926). The manuscript materials which are cited by Mr. Poage are limited to the collections in the Library of Congress and, with a few exceptions, to those relating to Whig politicians.

It is only fair to add that Mr. Poage has used these materials with a proper regard to historical criticism and that he does not hesitate to tell the truth about Mr. Clay's arts as a politician. Perhaps the most valuable contribution is the study of the history of Clay's part in the course of the compromise measures of 1850.

The opening paragraphs of the book represent an attempt at fine writing, in which it is intended to establish an analogy between a Kentucky autumn and Mr. Clay's declining years. But, happily, the "bronze upon the beeches, purple on the oaks," at Ashland, and the "frost upon his head" of Mr. Clay alike disappear with page one; and the remainder of the book is written in a solid straightforward way. Several misprints have escaped the proofreader.

University of Pennsylvania

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

*History of the Democratic Party in Florida: Including Biographical Sketches of Prominent Florida Democrats.* By William T. Cash. (Tallahassee: Florida Democratic Historical Foundation, 1936. Pp. 255. \$5.00.)

This work is divided into two sections. The last seventy-five pages are devoted to brief biographical sketches of living Florida Democrats, fashioned somewhat after the style of *Who's Who in America*. Although these possess an undoubted appeal to contemporary Floridians and should aid materially in distributing the book, they have little relation to the preceding historical narrative. This, as the title indicates, contains a brief account of the activities of the Democratic party in Florida from territorial days until 1936. It is supported by few footnotes and no bibliography; there is no index; maps are absent; and page headings are at times carelessly worded. In one chapter (XVIII) the headings have no application to the accompanying text. Broad generalizations, state pride, and a decided preference for the Democratic party characterize the work. Poor organization, petty detail, and occasional awkwardness burden the narrative.

In spite of its shortcomings and preparation by one whose political career left him unfamiliar with the usual canons of historical criticism, the work possesses some historical merit. It draws upon official records, occasional secondary works, newspapers, and the author's recollections. The last apply chiefly to the period since 1900 and enhance the value of this portion of the book. In

spite of an acknowledged failure to exhaust existing source materials, a fairly objective and coherent account of the history of Democratic politics in Florida is achieved. The forces that conditioned politics there are well-identified. Among these the most influential were sectionalism both within and without the state, corporation and anticorporation sentiment, factionalism after 1880, and the Catholic issue of the past two decades. The first anticorporation movement was born of the reckless banking ventures of territorial days. Railway building, begun by David L. Yulee and continued by Northern capitalists such as H. M. Flagler in the late nineteenth century, provoked a post-bellum revival of this movement. The failure of the Farmers' Alliance and Populists to capitalize this development is partially accounted for by the indifference of citrus growers and range cattlemen to the grievances of the cotton belt. Conservatism in the nineties was also born of the development of phosphate mining, cigar manufacturing, and Northern investments. The evolution, by 1902, of local primaries into "the first state-wide primary ever held" is well developed. It eliminated the state Democratic convention and, incidentally, preceded La Follette's better known reform by one year. Note is made of the premium placed by it upon large campaign expenditures. The progressive era in Florida politics began with the inauguration of Napoleon B. Broward on January 3, 1905. State support of common schools and higher education and a conservation program date from the Broward era. To Sidney J. Catts, an ex-Baptist preacher from Alabama, must be attributed the great importance of the Catholic issue in Florida politics from 1916 to 1928, although Tom Watson and secret anti-Catholic orders had laid the foundations of the movement. This resulted, in 1928, in a Republican victory for the national ticket. Although the Democrats saved the state offices then and have since dominated Florida politics, bitter factional contests, expensive preprimary campaigns, and popular indifference to the problems of government characterize the contemporary scene.

South Georgia Teachers College

CHESTER MCA. DESTLER

*Claudius Crozet: Soldier-Scholar-Educator-Engineer (1789-1864).* By Colonel William Couper. (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Historical Publishing Company, 1936. Pp. 221. Index. \$2.00.)

Few Virginians are now aware that in 1831 a dispute raged in the state over the question of internal improvements. The chief issue was whether to connect the eastern and western sections of the Old Dominion by canal or railroad. Joseph C. Cabell, a local celebrity whose name is forgotten, favored the building of a canal; the principal engineer of Virginia urged the adoption of Stephenson's new invention, the locomotive, and the construction of a railroad. The Cabell faction won; the principal engineer resigned and left the state. Virginia

lost the best opportunity she ever had to compete with the Northern states for the traffic from the West. Part of the canal was indeed finally completed but it is now a mass of ruins. Ironically enough, the towpath has become the bed of a railroad. "A century later, the people of Virginia have only the bonds, which have bled a staggering sum in interest, to remind them that they might have been indebted to a sagacious French engineer for economic advancement had they accepted the project for which he fought and was willing to sacrifice his position rather than his convictions."

The "sagacious" engineer was Claudius Crozet. After attending the *École Polytechnic*, he became an officer under Napoleon in time to serve in Russia and during the Hundred Days. Then, emigrating to the United States, he served as a pioneer professor of engineering at West Point from 1816 to 1823 and as an engineer for the state of Virginia during most of his remaining forty years. After his railroad plan was rejected, there was an interval of five years during which he practiced his profession in Louisiana. But Virginia was then wise enough to recall him and he served the state in various engineering projects.

While principal engineer of Virginia, Crozet became in 1837 president of the Board of Visitors for the newly projected Virginia Military Institute. During the next few years he did much to establish this well-known institution on the pattern of West Point and the *École Polytechnic*. It is fitting, therefore, that the biography of Crozet should be written by Colonel William Couper, executive officer and historiographer of the Virginia Military Institute. He has made extensive use of the available sources, including some recently discovered Crozet manuscripts. He has also pointed out the importance of Crozet's work as a pioneer in American military education and in the "establishment of great arteries of communication (highway, canal, and railroad) leading through his adopted state and to the undeveloped western country."

Crozet's name is perpetuated in a mountain village perched on a high spot on the beautiful route between Charlottesville and Staunton, Virginia. But the real monument to him is the series of tunnels cut through the mountains in this vicinity which are used by the main line of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway. There are several of these tunnels, one nearly a mile long. Constructed without the benefit of modern engineering facilities and at a period when such work was still in an experimental stage, they remain a permanent memorial to the Frenchman who served his adopted country as faithfully and intelligently as he would have served that of his fathers.

Colonel Couper is to be praised for his research on a man and a period of Virginia history deserving of study. We can only regret that excessive annotations and certain other literary imperfections only too common in American historical writing will prevent his book from having a wider reading.

*A Pioneer Southern Railroad from New Orleans to Cairo.* By Thomas D. Clark. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Pp. 171. Illustrations. \$2.00.)

In this treatise on the building of the several railroad lines now comprising the Southern branches of the Illinois Central Railroad system with its trunk line extending from New Orleans to Cairo, Professor Clark has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the difficulties in the way of railroad construction in the South, and of the surprising progress made in the face of these obstacles. He has given us more than the story of a railroad: he has undertaken "to present some idea of at least one of the factors which figured in the attempt to maintain 'King Cotton' and his maid servant, slavery," and arrives at the conclusion that the severing of the economic tie between the "Cotton South" and the Northwest would have been prevented by the completion of a New Orleans to Chicago road by 1850.

Farsighted citizens of New Orleans early realized that their city, dependent upon foreign and remote internal trade, might become "the victim of slow-moving river traffic" if the railroads projected between the Eastern seaboard and the Middle West should be completed. The first effort to avoid this contingency, the incorporation of the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad Company in 1834, failed because Mississippi refused to grant a charter until after the panic of 1837 had rendered the success of the project impossible.

From that time until about 1848 New Orleans slumbered blissfully, to be suddenly aroused from its lethargy by the efforts of Mobile to build a railroad to the Ohio River at Columbus, Kentucky. Under the leadership of C. S. Tarpley, James Robb, J. D. B. De Bow, and Judah P. Benjamin the New Orleans to Nashville project was revived with the incorporation in 1850 of the New Orleans and Jackson Railroad Company, which two years later was renamed the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern. It soon justified its new and expansive title by absorbing or obtaining control of a number of other roads under construction in Mississippi and Tennessee. Among these were the Vicksburg and Jackson; the Canton and Jackson; a proposed line from Canton to Tuscumbia (eventually built only from Durant to Aberdeen); the Mississippi Central, from Canton to the Mississippi-Tennessee line; the Mississippi Central and Tennessee, from that point to Jackson, Tennessee; and the Mississippi and Tennessee, from Grenada to Memphis.

These consolidations and agreements, together with the pressure of financial difficulties, led naturally to the abandonment of the original plan of building to Nashville and to a decision to effect instead a junction with the Mobile and Ohio at Jackson, Tennessee. This design was accomplished by January 31, 1860, and New Orleans, by using a completed portion of the road sponsored by its bitter rival, Mobile, was in a position to tap the grain and livestock trade of the Northwest at Columbus, Kentucky. With the completion of the "Cairo Exten-

sion" in 1873, New Orleans was relieved of its dependence upon the Mobile and Ohio, and at the same time was provided with an unbroken railroad connection—except for differences in gauge—with Chicago, Illinois. A few years later the whole system was taken over by the Illinois Central.

Although the policy of treating separately each of the roads involved has its obvious disadvantages, it appears to have been the only feasible organization, and the author has skilfully avoided excessive repetition. There are, however, a few minor points of interest not included. For example, the reader might like to know to what extent the system was reconstructed and used by the Union army after most of it had been made into "Confederate neckties" during the early part of the war. Also, although Louisiana and Mississippi are given considerable credit for grants of aid to the companies operating in those states, the amount of aid granted by Tennessee has been minimized to the point of being almost overlooked. On the whole, however, Professor Clark has presented his material, gleaned from newspapers, railroad reports, and other documents, in an interesting manner, enlivening his subjects with numerous bits of humor. Several appropriate illustrations and a very helpful map are included.

University of Tennessee

S. J. FOLMSBEE

*The Women of the Confederacy.* By Francis Butler Simkins and James Welch Patton. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1936. Pp. xiii, 306. Bibliography. \$3.00.)

According to the authors, *The Women of the Confederacy* "endeavors to evaluate the part played by the women of the South in the inauguration of the Confederate War; their share in sustaining the Confederate armies and in keeping alive the economic life of a war-torn and blockaded country; the several phases of their relations with the Federal invaders; their social pleasures; their anguish and suffering; and their experiences during the final months of the war in which the Confederacy was destroyed."

The authors' approach is critical. They seem to the writer to rise above sectionalism. They are scrupulous in presenting the record of every element of the feminine population as far as their sources allow. They never slip into sentimentality. We read of amazing acts of sacrifice, courage, resourcefulness, industry, wisdom, but we are made aware that many women were rattlepated, emotional, exaggerators of their treatment by the Federals, lazy, selfish, intent on getting the best for themselves.

Sources consist of a half dozen or so unpublished diaries kept by women in the war years; some voluminous unpublished contemporary correspondence, such as the hundreds of Pettigrew letters concerning the women of a family prominent in both the Carolinas; the familiar printed war journals of women; travelers' accounts; and about as many memoirs and reminiscences, chiefly of

women, as contemporary diaries and correspondence. Secondary words are used, but play a minor part.

One wishes the authors had turned up more of that uncommon, unconscious source material, the letters of illiterate women, such as those they found in the papers of the governors of Virginia and North Carolina. The bibliography, while representing multitudinous records, is limited; with few exceptions it voices the women of the slaveowning classes.

Addressing war widows, Pericles in his famous Funeral Speech on the unknown soldier interpreted the place of women in the community. Hers greatest of all whose praise or blame is least bruited on the lips of men. *The Women of the Confederacy* presents a similar point of view. Thus, it is not strange to find individual women playing no eminent part in the Confederacy and that the authors omit from their sources newspapers, which are today so important a source for the activities of women.

No chapter reveals more obviously that the Old South, like ancient Greece, was a man's country than the chapter entitled "Treatment of the Sick and Wounded." After the first battles women responded promptly as volunteer nurses and with relief societies. Throughout the war women rendered "a variety of services to thousands of disabled Confederates"; but their hospital services were circumscribed by public opinion. Late in 1861 when the Confederate government assumed control and partial support of all soldiers' hospitals in the South, "the managerial phases of the work largely passed into masculine hands." The only official status granted to women was that of hospital matron. Public prejudice against women serving in hospitals was shared by the majority of Confederate surgeons. It is significant that among the most notable of the daring spirits, who braved hostile opinion and became a matron, was Kate Cumming, a Scotswoman, "who was not fettered by the contemporary feeling that nursing was a profession indelicate to women."

That the women did even in their restricted status collectively perform remarkable, though nonpublicized, service to their country is amply shown. Perhaps in the chapter "Relations with the Slaves," the authors come nearest to their endeavor to evaluate the part played in the war period by the women of the South. That slavery did not collapse when the women and children were left on the plantations alone with the Negroes, they attribute in no small part to the humane, tactful, and courageous management of the slaves by the mistresses of the plantations.

The book presents no fundamentally new view. While evidence is admittedly illogical and conflicting, it frequently seems undigested. The authors baffle the reader by their own contradictory statements. One finds in the study no brilliant interpretation, but it unconsciously accounts for what every emancipated Southerner marvels at: the persistence of ardent women not only for the lost cause but also with a defense mechanism and bitter feeling against the North as a

section. The reviewer remembers a Confederate generation. While the men delighted to rehearse the battles, her grandmother forbade the war to be mentioned. To a surprising extent women retaining passionate loyalty have moulded Southern youth. The strength of this influence may best be seen in small Southern colleges.

Offering easy and interesting reading to both student and layman, and stimulating thought, *The Women of the Confederacy* contributes also the beginnings of a valuable bibliography of published and unpublished primary sources on Southern social history. Since it draws largely on memoirs, the student would have appreciated footnotes on the pages with the text instead of at the back of the book.

Survey of Federal Archives

KATHLEEN BRUCE

*Horace Greeley and the Tribune in the Civil War.* By Ralph Ray Fahrney. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1936. Pp. x, 229. Bibliography. \$2.50.)

This monograph, after making a rapid survey of Horace Greeley's newspaper and political career before 1860, holds closely to its title. There are chapters on "Seward, Weed, Greeley," "Secession, Compromise or War," "Emancipation," "The Niagara Peace Episode," and other topics. It is successful in treating the reaction of this important editor to day by day events during four critical years and in describing his attempts to control and direct the Republican party and the war policies of Lincoln.

We all may have known that Greeley was eccentric but we are hardly prepared for the apparent inconsistencies and quirks and turns that Professor Fahrney reveals. Greeley showed impetuous perturbations, turned sharp corners, was a "half-insane journalist," impulsive, obstreperous, optimistic, despondent, irresolute, pacifist, abusive radical. Regarding Lincoln, at one time he said (in a letter), "Who shall deliver us from the body of this Old Abe," and at another (in the *Tribune*), he affirmed, "Henceforth, we fly the banner of Abraham Lincoln for the next Presidency." In spite of all this the author is right in conceding to this peculiar man a "fairly consistent policy."

At times great political shrewdness and moderation appear. Greeley made overtures to Douglas when that Western insurgent turned against the Buchanan administration and became, during 1857 and 1858, the great national antislavery leader. In discussing candidates for the Republican nomination he was worldly-wise enough to say to a friend, "An Anti-slavery man *per se* cannot be elected; but a tariff, River and Harbor, Pacific Railroad, Free Homestead man may succeed." He often appeared to treat with "the enemy" and yet he remained loyal; we feel that fundamentally he supported Lincoln rather than Lincoln's radical critics. He was a believer in the tariff.

The author takes the conventional view that "Copperheads" were pro-Southern and perhaps overstates the danger of the Western "plots" in 1863 and 1864. Another biographer of Greeley, in estimating his total career, seems willing to point out the high standard of journalism set, the good causes espoused, the energy and versatility of the man, admitting that through the great circulation and widespread influence of the *Tribune*, he became a great popular educator and moral leader. But this study covers in detail only the war years; we should hardly expect marked concessions to Greeley's greatness in a period of confused councils, ups and downs, uncertainties, doubts, and fears, of which Greeley himself was part and parcel.

There is extensive use of manuscripts and letters, and other newspapers besides the *Tribune*.

Ohio Wesleyan University

H. C. HUBBART

*Old Cane Springs. A Story of the War between the States in Madison County, Kentucky.* By John C. Chenault. Revised and supplemented by Jonathan Truman Dorris. (Louisville: The Standard Printing Company, 1936. Pp. xvi, 257. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

The late Judge John Cabell Chenault, of Madison County, Kentucky, and Dr. Jonathan Truman Dorris, professor of history in the Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College, share equal honors in this book. Judge Chenault wrote his memoirs of the Civil War in Kentucky "many years" after that struggle (p. 48), and recorded in his manuscript, now published for the first time, the recollections of his boyhood. It was truly an idyllic life he saw in Madison County as he looked back. Though the son of an antislavery father, his early contact with slavery on nearby plantations made of him a staunch supporter of that institution and led him to give his full boyish support to the Confederacy. A great deal of his account is devoted to life among the slaves. Conditions developed by the war he describes in intimate details, and throughout he writes in the spirit of mellow romance. Much of the narrative is made up of conversations, which, of course, are reconstructions of ideas and experiences remembered years afterwards. With due allowance for an old man's reminiscences, this account is an interesting and valuable document.

Professor Dorris has added much to this work by his careful editing and by appending numerous long explanatory notes. In fact half of the book is made up of this editorial material. Interesting addenda are a story of James B. McCleary's life as a Federal prisoner of war, and letters written by a prisoner in Camp Douglas. There are almost a half hundred illustrations and two maps, which add to the value and attractiveness of the book.

University of Georgia

E. M. COULTER

*Dick Dowling's Battle: An Account of the War between the States in the Eastern Gulf Coast Region of Texas.* By Mrs. R. F. Pray. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1936. Pp. xiii, 143. Frontispiece, illustrations. \$2.00.)

This little volume was written "not to impress scholars and teachers, but to present, however inadequately, the real story of an important era." The author makes no apologies for being "at times exceedingly pro-Southern." Half of the book is devoted to a flaccid account of events from the purchase of Louisiana to the fall of 1862, an additional quarter to military activities in the eastern Gulf Coast region of Texas; eleven pages to biographical notes on the hero, leaving seventeen pages for the main subject.

The whole of the book might more profitably have been dedicated to an exhaustive study of the battle itself. The background might have more reasonably been laid in the capture of New Orleans which gave to the Union forces a base of operations for launching a serious campaign against Texas, and in the prostration of the South which allowed Union troops to be spared for the trans-Mississippi region. A study of the carefully laid plans and elaborate preparations which were completed in the summer of 1863 for the invasion of Texas, would have brought out more clearly the significance of the Union defeat at Sabine Pass which necessitated the abandonment of the entire campaign, thus sparing Texas from the devastation of military occupation.

A study of the geographical features in connection with the official map of Sabine Pass would have resulted in a more reasonable explanation for the defeat of "four warships and your thousands of troops by forty-seven men," than the naïve conclusion that the victory "was due almost entirely to Dowling and his brave Texans." Upon a more thorough investigation, the "regularly armed and equipped steamers . . . heavily armed and ironclad" would have shrunk to three improvised boats: a miserable steam scow drawn from a previous generation, a discarded New York ferryboat of decayed frame and weak machinery constantly out of repair, and a third-rate side-wheel river boat. The Confederate "earthworks with feeble garrisons and insufficient cannon" would have been found strategically located and adequate to defend the pass against any vessel which could navigate its shallow waters. The statement that "Two thousand five hundred men . . . could have done no more than the valiant forty-seven," is truer than the author probably supposed.

Interest in the book might have been increased by reproducing a sketch of the battle drawn by a Union soldier who watched the engagement from one of the transports, and by pictures of some of the boats easily available. Footnotes and acknowledgements are lacking except in wholly unnecessary places and the book contains no bibliography. The lack of historical form, however, is not a serious fault, as the book was avowedly written to incandesce the halo of another provincial hero.

*Richmond Homes and Memories.* By Robert Beverley Munford, Jr. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1936. Pp. xiv, 259. Frontispiece. \$3.00.)

Writing for the purpose of putting "into writing some memories of Richmond homes of older day, and of the families that formerly resided in them," Robert Beverley Munford, Jr., has produced a book which will be of considerable value to historians having need of material on Richmond families and street addresses for the period from around 1870 to 1890. To the genealogical fringe, if we may parody Theodore Roosevelt, the book should be a godsend.

As Mr. Munford says in his preface, "So many of the Richmond people who are recalled in these pages have passed away, and so many of the homes referred to have already been razed, that in future years, perhaps, the memory of them may prove of historical interest." The work is certainly justified. Yet we fear that the younger generations will find *Richmond Homes and Memories* but a bare skeleton of what it could have been. In far too many places the book seems to become a rather tiresome collection of "begats" somewhat reminiscent of the fifth chapter of Genesis. Names there are in plenty, but the author seems to forget that as time goes on, those fine old names will cease to recall to the minds of posterity the images they raise before the eyes of Richmonders of even the present day. And as it is with the people so it is with the houses they lived in. Many are mentioned and too few are described clearly. Where clear and objective description could have been used with excellent effect, space is taken up with laudatory adjectives, deserved no doubt, but distressingly uninformative. This situation is made more regrettable by the fact that the book as it stands shows that the author has a thorough command of his material, and could, without doubt, have given to posterity a really remarkable document on the people and social life of Richmond. Even more important than the facts made available, would have been his understanding of them, for his work has the unmistakable and undefinable flavor of a product of the seven hills on the James.

In organization the book is rather rambling, a defect balanced to some extent by a detailed table of contents and an index which takes up a tenth of the volume. A map of the city would be helpful to non-Richmonders needing to use the work. The style, though sometimes slightly repetitious, is gracious and except for a persistent use of "interregnum" for "interval," pleasing.

Checking the accuracy of the hundreds of family connections and scores of addresses mentioned by the author is beyond the resources and knowledge as well as the inclinations of this reviewer. Recourse was consequently taken to sampling with results favorable to the author's accuracy.

Data on the families of Richmond are interspersed with accounts of the unveiling of the Lee monument, the inauguration of General Fitzhugh Lee as governor, and balls given by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities in 1890 and 1891. In the opinion of the reviewer, these pages are the most interesting parts of the book.

In conclusion it is safe to say that Mr. Munford has written a book which may be read with pleasure by Richmonders of the present generation, consulted with profit by those desiring information on Richmond people for the period covered, and passed up without great loss by all others.

King College

JOHN CARTER MATTHEWS

*The French Quarter: An Informal History of the New Orleans Underworld.* By Herbert Asbury. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1936. Pp. xvi, 462. \$3.50.)

Mr. Herbert Asbury in his book, *The French Quarter*, has not followed a pattern, neither has he surveyed a subject matter which would meet the unqualified approval of the conventional historian. His especial province in this volume is the ribald and negative elements which have contributed color and character to a great American city.

The early chapters survey the beginnings of Louisiana's Sodom and the origins of its manifold iniquities. Even in its inception, New Orleans was largely settled by vicious emigrants. "Most of the first inhabitants of the new town appear to have been fairly respectable, but in succeeding shiploads, vagabonds and the criminal element were vastly in the majority. . . . The government went boldly to the task of ransacking the jails and hospitals. Disorderly soldiers, 'black sheep' of distinguished families, paupers, prostitutes, political suspects, friendless strangers . . . all were kidnapped, herded, and shipped under guard to fill the emptiness of Louisiana."

There was in this nascent period a preponderance of males in the colony. Bienville was apprehensive when he observed that his dissolute charges were running in the woods after Indian girls. "Send me wives for my Canadians," he begged the authorities. The home government responded generously. La Salpatrière, a Parisian house of correction, was evacuated. Eighty-eight "lilies-of-the-gutter" were sent out to mother a wilderness. Somewhat optimistically, a midwife was provided for their future comfort. The midwife doubtless suggested to these foolish virgins the link between their delightful past and their dubious future. Looking backward with a profligate touch of nostalgia, they christened her anew and called her *La Sans-Regret*. "By some queer physiological mischance none of the correction girls, apparently, ever bore a child." On the other hand, the *casket* girls [carefully chosen and virtuous females] were extraordinarily fertile, for "practically every native family of Louisiana is able to trace its descent in an unbroken line from one of the *filles à la cassette*."

In the early river days there were the biting, gouging, kicking, stamping, stabbing, clubbing river bullies. Each boat crew had its champion, who wore a red turkey feather in his hair or cap, a badge which was a standing challenge to every other bully on the river. Inevitable combats between rival bullies drove the respectable citizens behind the barricaded doors of their homes. When such

a fight began, the contestants strove to outdo one another in animal-like ferocity.

The better citizens learned to fear and dread the drinking, fighting, gambling Kainstocks, who periodically terrorized the town. That was not the only fear. From the "Swamp," a teeming cesspool of iniquity, there nightly issued forth prowling bands of thieves, footpads, and firebugs.

The noble Creole, convivial and naturally gay, made legitimate provision for his own entertainment. The theaters, ballrooms, and coffee-shop resorts were lavish or adequate. For those to whom these amusements brought *ennui*, there was always a reserve stimulation in cockfights, horse racing, and the quasi sport of the duello.

A chapter is dedicated to the activities of Jean Lafitte, the "Terror of the Gulf." Another sketches the filibustering expeditions of Narciso Lopez and William Walker, the "grey-eyed man of destiny." New Orleans was intimately associated and tremendously excited over the fortunes of these men with missions.

In his discussion of "Gamblers Afloat and Ashore," Mr. Asbury suggests the extent of the gambling rage which early seized upon New Orleans, and which later permeated the entire state. In the Crescent City, the Goddess of Chance had always been a reigning deity. There were, in 1880, eighty-three large gambling houses operating in the municipality. Fearing the censure of respectability, Mayor Joseph A. Shakespeare tried to control the situation by license and by insuring an honest game. As far as the gamblers themselves were concerned, Mayor Shakespeare's efforts resulted in *Much Ado About Nothing*. Subsequent to the legitimatizing of gambling (1869) the Louisiana State Lottery was organized. Disguised behind the thin veneer of charity, this institution was a vital and corrupting factor in state politics. In spite of rescinding legislation, the urge to gamble did not subside in New Orleans and its environs.

Strictly from the objective viewpoint, some readers may be interested in "Some Loose Ladies of Basin Street." By a municipal ordinance of 1817, prostitution was not *per se* a crime. For all practical purposes this interpretation remained unchanged, and Storyville threatened to become the Singapore of the New World. For years there lingered the nefarious traditions of the "whited sepulchers" of New Orleans. Kate Townsend and Fanny Sweet in time passed on to some Valhalla, but the haunting ghost of Hattie Hamilton refused to be relegated to the oblivion of mere death.

Even though certain portions of New Orleans are suggestive of an "Epoch of Degeneracy," "A Hell on Earth," and "A Criminal's Paradise," the passing years have created a romantic mist which has softened the ugly glare of the brutal and the sordid.

Throughout his volume Mr. Asbury retains a thread of the political history of Louisiana. This sort of material is minimized, but it is wholly sufficient to keep the uninitiated reader informed as to the chronological order of the vicious cycles.

*Machine Politics in New Orleans, 1897-1926.* By George M. Reynolds. Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, Number 421. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. 245. Bibliography. \$3.25.)

While numerous monographs have been written dealing with machine politics in the larger Northern and Eastern cities, this is the first study of the kind to have for its setting a Southern metropolis. The Choctaw Club of New Orleans amply merited a detailed investigation, and Dr. Reynolds' findings should prove of interest to students of government and history alike.

Organized in 1897, in the midst of the movement to disfranchise the Negro, the Choctaw Club soon became recognized as the dominant Democratic group in New Orleans. Three years later it gained control of the majority of the municipal offices and then maintained uninterruptedly its hold on the City Hall until 1920. Even at this time it was supplanted only temporarily by a rival Democratic machine, for in 1925 the Choctaws came back stronger than ever. All the while, it exerted a very real influence on state as well as local politics.

Numerous factors contributed to the long continued ascendancy of the Choctaw Club. The Southern one-party system protected the machine against any real opposition outside the Democratic organization; all its fights were intramural. The fact that New Orleans was the only large city in the state gave the Choctaw leaders considerable leverage in dealing with the successive administrations in Baton Rouge. But the internal organization of the Club must not be ignored. Its membership, ranging from three to six thousand, was highly and effectively organized. Precinct leaders and ward leaders—city officeholders all—knew what was expected of them and few failed to deliver the votes. Undoubtedly, control of the patronage was an indispensable asset. Also, the Choctaw Club never lacked money. Liberal contributions were made by those whose jobs depended on the "bosses" as well as by the various "interests" with whom the Choctaw leaders were willing to "play the game." The money thus collected was used to maintain elaborate headquarters at the corner of St. Charles Avenue and Lafayette Square, but it was also used to help put many a "down-and-outer" back on his feet. His vote might be needed in the next election. Occasional use of "floaters" and stuffed ballot boxes may have helped, too.

Above all towered the personality of Martin Behrman, mayor of New Orleans for seventeen years and recognized leader of the Choctaw Club from 1904 until his death in 1926. Born in New York City of German Jewish parents and reared in the French Quarter of New Orleans amid humble surroundings, Behrman early learned to shift for himself and to make friends. He had a definite flair for politics and served his apprenticeship in the machine headed by Mayor John Fitzpatrick—the forerunner of the Choctaw Club. Every inch a politician, he accepted the spoils system without question, he "got along" with business, he condoned illegal gambling, drinking, and prostitution. Yet even

his enemies admitted that Behrman possessed native ability, courage, and sincerity.

Dr. Reynolds has brought together a considerable amount of enlightening and interesting material, including some of the "back stage" variety which is essential to an understanding of practical politics. His conclusions, in the main, are those of a realist. While admitting the shortcomings of the Choctaw Club, he feels that "political organization is undoubtedly as inevitable as it is indispensable in a democracy." The several "Reform" and "Anti-Machine" groups which opposed the Choctaws, he regards simply as "outs" trying to get in power.

A possible exception to the author's objective attitude is his tendency to make Martin Behrman the hero of the piece. So wholeheartedly does he subscribe to the thesis that "Martin Behrman is better than his crowd" that one suspects he may have accepted Behrman's own account of his career too literally.

One statement of fact seems open to question. That the Citizens' League of New Orleans, which overthrew the Fitzpatrick Machine in 1896, was supported by the Negro vote (p. 27) appears unlikely in view of the fact that the Citizens' Leaguers in the subsequent legislature worked very actively for the disfranchisement of the Negro.

Duke University

WILLIAM ALEXANDER MABRY

*A History of Cumberland University, 1842-1935.* By Winstead Paine Bone.

(Lebanon, Tennessee: Published by the Author, 1935. Pp. xxiv, 303. Illustrations. \$2.00.)

This history was written in commemoration of the ninetieth anniversary of the founding of Cumberland University. It is not only a history of that institution but a biographical sketch of the founders, presidents, the most prominent trustees, teachers, and alumni of the University as well. Dr. Bone, whose connection with the school began in 1884, is well-qualified to tell its story. He has drawn heavily from his personal knowledge and from information obtained from the late Chancellor Nathan Green, Jr., whose association with the University as a student, teacher, and chancellor extended from 1842 to his death in 1919.

Cumberland University, organized in 1842, was named for the Cumberland country in which it was established. The catalogue of 1846 stated that "No church judiciary has any control over this institution or any connection with it, but it is under the influence and voluntary patronage of Cumberland Presbyterians." In 1850, however, it was affiliated with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church when its charter was amended to permit the general assembly of that church to reject or confirm nominations to the Board of Trustees. Dr. Bone emphasizes the fact that the University was the work of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the Cumberland country. Judge Robert L. Caruthers is generally regarded as the founder of the University.

Cumberland University was a product of the same movement which resulted in the establishment, in 1826, of Cumberland College at Princeton, Kentucky. Dr. Bone corrects the mistaken idea that the Princeton institution, which was discontinued in 1861, was moved to Lebanon. This impression persisted for many years due to the fact that Dr. F. R. Cossitt resigned the presidency of Cumberland College to become the first head of the new institution at Lebanon, and also because several members of his faculty followed him there.

"One of the chief early aims of Cumberland University was the literary and theological education of candidates for the ministry." However, the Theological School was not established until 1854, and the ministerial students have never constituted the major portion of the student body. There were 45 students enrolled when it opened its doors in 1842. Ante-bellum attendance reached a peak of 481 in 1858, including 188 in the Law School, 165 in the College of Arts, 117 in the Preparatory School, 6 in the Engineering School, and 5 in the Theological School.

The Law School is one of the best known departments of the University. From 1847 to 1853 the course of study required two years for its completion. In 1853 it was reduced to fifteen months, and in 1871 the famous one-year course was instituted. Three reasons were assigned at the time for making the change: (1) "Most law schools in the United States had shortened the time"; (2) "Owing to conditions after the Civil War, most young men were limited in their means"; (3) "With better textbooks and better methods of teaching law it was believed satisfactory results could be obtained in one year." In 1932 it was announced that a two-year course leading to the Bachelor of Laws degree would be substituted. However, the one-year course, with some changes would be retained.

Cumberland has faced two major crises in its history. In the Civil War its buildings, endowment, libraries, and other equipment were all swept away. Nearly all the institution had after the war was "its name and its debts." Nevertheless it reopened in the fall of 1865 in a rented hall. The enrollment was small and most of the students were former soldiers. Caruthers Hall, which now houses the Law School, was built in 1877. In 1892 a new campus of fifty-five acres was obtained and Memorial Hall was erected for the College of Arts. The men's dormitory was built in 1903. Cumberland was a school for young men exclusively until 1897, when it became coeducational.

In 1909 the University faced its second crisis when the state Supreme Court ruled that the union of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. was invalid. The charter of the University and its property were the subjects of court litigation for four years. In 1913 a compromise was reached and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, in return for a cash consideration, relinquished its claims to the University. The expansion program was greatly curtailed in this period. The Theological and Engineering schools

were discontinued. The University is now affiliated with the Presbyterian Church U. S. A.

Dr. Bone's work is well-illustrated and has a valuable appendix containing a complete register of the trustees, officers, and faculty from the University's foundation in 1842. The index is adequate. While the author, due no doubt to his long personal connection with the institution, is often inclined to be eulogistic, he has made a real contribution to the cultural history of the South.

Indiana University Extension Division

POWELL MOORE

*Three Decades of Progress: Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College, 1906-1936.* Prepared by Members of the Faculty, Jonathan Truman Dorris, editor. Volume XXIX, May, 1936, Number 1, of *Eastern Kentucky Review*. (Richmond, Kentucky: Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College, 1936. Pp. 365. Illustrations. \$1.00.)

This book was suggested by President H. L. Donovan, prepared by members of the staff, and edited by Dr. J. T. Dorris. It is a complete history of the College. It is unusually factual and if it omits anything except the trivial item that the present reviewer taught there in the summer of 1923 the omission does not come to mind.

We have been told and it seems with some historic warrant that the first college west of the Alleghenies was a Kentucky institution. But for all of that initial activity, the present century found Kentucky education greatly in arrears. A system of alleged public education had been established as early as 1838. But perhaps the first glimpse of the implications of public education was by Robert J. Breckinridge who was state superintendent in 1850 and who set going some forces which are still in motion. The matter of the professional preparation of teachers had not been given much consideration at the opening of the present century. In 1856 the aforementioned pioneer institution, Transylvania, became by legislative action a college for the development of the teachers of the state. That project lasted two years. In 1878 Superintendent Henderson was authorized by the legislature to conduct a ten-weeks' school which he did in the vicinity of Frankfort. This attempt, however, did not carry beyond the year. And then ensued a line of private normal schools doubtless inspired by the Holbrooks at Lebanon, Ohio, the leading institution of which was the one at Bowling Green, Kentucky, known as the Southern Normal School which in 1906 became the Western Kentucky State Teachers College. At the same time there was established at Richmond, Kentucky, the institution which sat for the picture presented by Dr. Dorris and his colleagues.

The facts seem to be all duly set forth, sometimes one fears with undue prolixity. The reader, though, tends to find the major weakness of the book in the fact that it is written by a considerable number of people with definite

styles of writing and presentation, and this shift is a bit annoying at times. Furthermore, the departmentalization of the institution's history is a bit disconcerting, but the whole story is told. And it is told in such a way and with such earnestness that one finds his respect for the College growing rather than diluted by a matter of shifting rhetoric.

There are fifteen chapters, of which the first is a very well-written foreword by Mrs. Mabel Pollitt Adams. Then in order come "The Founding of Eastern," by Dr. Dorris; "The Administration," by Dean W. C. Jones; "The Curriculum," by M. E. Mattox, registrar; "The Training School," by Professor Richard A. Edwards; "The Library," by Miss Mary Floyd, librarian; "The Campus," by Dr. J. D. Farris; "Extra-Curricular Activities," by Dr. Roy B. Clark; "Student Life," by Miss Mary Frances McKinney, Miss May C. Hansen, and Mrs. Julian Tyng; "The College Farm," by Ashby E. Carter; "Health, Physical Education and Athletics," by Dr. Farris and Professor Thomas E. McDonough; "The Growth, Training and Tenure of the Faculty," by Dr. W. J. Moore; "Some Faculty Sketches," by Miss Maude Gibson; "The Alumni," by Miss Lucile Derrick and Mr. Sam Beckley; and "Central University," by Dr. Dorris.

In addition, there are eight appendixes including everything from the pedigrees of the school's choice cows to the three official songs of the College, the biographical sketches of past and current members of the staff, and a complete roster of all graduates of the College and training school.

This book is the culmination of a worthy project. It relates the story of a worthy college, one which on a beautiful campus engages vigorously in the discharge of its obligations. Colleges are interesting phenomena. They represent human activity at approximately its best. The story of a college belongs in the records. The history of Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College has presented, if not all, then most of the facts of its short though fruitful career.

George Peabody College

A. L. CRABB

## Historical News and Notes

The committee to arrange the program for the third annual meeting of the Association consists of Frank L. Owsley, Vanderbilt University, chairman; Benjamin B. Kendrick, University of North Carolina College for Women; Lester J. Cappon, University of Virginia; Walter Prichard, Louisiana State University; and Kathryn Abbey, Florida State College for Women. The date of the meeting has not yet been determined, but it will be held sometime in October or November at Durham, North Carolina, with Duke University and the University of North Carolina as joint hosts.

Walter B. Posey of Birmingham-Southern College has been reappointed chairman of the membership committee for 1937. Other members of the committee are: *Alabama*: James K. Greer, 7818 Sixth Avenue South, Birmingham; *Arkansas*: Thomas S. Staples, Hendrix College, Conway; *District of Columbia*: Philip M. Hamer, The National Archives, Washington; *Florida*: Kathryn T. Abbey, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee; *Georgia*: Haywood J. Pearce, Jr., Emory University, Emory; *Illinois*: J. G. Randall, University of Illinois, Urbana; *Indiana*: Powell Moore, 2 Ruth Street, Hammond; *Kentucky*: T. D. Clark, University of Kentucky, Lexington; *Louisiana*: Mack Swearingen, Tulane University, New Orleans; *Maryland*: Ella Lonn, Goucher College, Baltimore; *Mississippi*: P. L. Rainwater, University of Mississippi, University; *Missouri*: R. P. Bieber, Washington University, St. Louis; *New York*: E. Wilson Lyon, University Avenue, Hamilton; *North Carolina*: Charles C. Crittenden, Raleigh; *Ohio*: H. H. Simms, 290 Fifteenth Avenue, Columbus; *Oklahoma*: William R. Hogan, National Park Service, Oklahoma City; *South Carolina*: O. C. Skipper, Marion Square West, Charleston; *Tennessee*: Daniel M. Robinson, Vanderbilt University, Nashville; *Texas*: O. L. Hilliard, Box 1760, University Station, Austin; *Virginia*: Kathleen Bruce, Williamsburg; *West Virginia*: Festus P. Summers, R. F. D. No. 2, Morgantown; *Wisconsin*: W. B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin, Madison; *Wyoming and the Far West*: Laura A. White, 1406 Custer Street, Laramie.

### PERSONAL

Judge John H. DeWitt, president of the Tennessee Historical Society since 1913, died suddenly on March 7, 1937, at the age of sixty-four. Although he had been a member of the Tennessee Court of Appeals since 1925, and had

served both his community and his state in other official capacities, he had made the study of Tennessee history his major interest. He was instrumental in establishing the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* in 1915, and he contributed numerous articles to that journal. At the time of his death, he was working on plans to resume the regular publication of the *Magazine*, and had just sent the copy for a new issue to the printer. He had also been at work for a number of years on a history of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, about half of which he had written in preliminary form.

Dr. Walter P. Webb, author of *The Great Plains* and *The Texas Rangers* and now on leave from the University of Texas, has accepted a temporary position with the National Park Service as Historical Consultant on the proposed Big Bend National Park. Dr. Webb has also accepted an invitation extended by the University of London to deliver a series of lectures on the West and Southwest in February and March of 1938.

Miss Louise Alexander of the University of North Carolina College for Women has been promoted associate professor of history.

Partial leave of absence for the current semester has been granted to Professor Culver H. Smith of the University of Chattanooga to continue his research on a "Guide to the Opinion-Forming Press of the United States," a project of the American Council of Learned Societies.

Professor Cary Johnson of the University of Virginia will devote the summer to work on a life of William Walker; Professor M. J. Dauer of the University of Florida will spend the summer in Europe; and Professor D. H. Gilpatrick of Furman University will study "Refugee Journalists, 1780-1800," in the Library of Congress.

Leave of absence for the first semester of 1937-1938 has been granted to Professor Charles M. Knapp of the University of Kentucky.

Dr. F. Hardee Allen and Mr. Joe H. Parks will offer instruction in history during the spring term for teachers at the University of Tennessee.

Dr. Henry M. Alexander of the State Teachers College, Maryville, Missouri, has accepted a position as associate professor of history and political science at the University of Arkansas, the appointment to become effective in September.

The following summer migrations may be noted: R. S. Cotterill of Florida State College for Women to teach both summer terms at the University of Virginia; Harry Elmer Barnes to teach the first summer term at the University of Kentucky; Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri and Paul Clyde of the University of Kentucky to teach at Ohio State University; V. M. Queener of

Maryville College to teach the second term at the University of Tennessee; James W. Silver of the University of Mississippi to teach at Birmingham-Southern College; Ralph P. Bieber of Washington University and Oron J. Hale of the University of Virginia to teach at the University of Missouri; O. Douglas Weeks of the University of Texas to teach at the University of Arkansas; Thomas P. Abernethy of the University of Virginia to teach at Northwestern University; Culver H. Smith of the University of Chattanooga, Ross McLean of Emory University, C. C. Pearson of Wake Forest College, W. H. Callcott of the University of South Carolina, and Hastings Eells of Ohio Wesleyan University to teach at Duke University; E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia to teach at Louisiana State University; Edwin Adams Davis of Louisiana State University to teach at the University of Texas; T. P. Govan of Vanderbilt University to teach the first term at the University of Chattanooga; Ross H. Taylor of Furman University to teach at Wake Forest College.

Clanton W. Williams of the University of Alabama, now studying at Vanderbilt University, has brought out a revised edition of *The Topical History of Britain* (Tuscaloosa: Weatherford Printing Company, 1936).

*Roosevelt to Roosevelt: The United States in the Twentieth Century*, by Dwight L. Dumond of the University of Michigan, was issued recently by Henry Holt and Company.

*The Development of Modern Medicine, An Interpretation of the Social and Scientific Facts Involved*, by Richard H. Shryock of Duke University, was published in 1936 by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

#### HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

A Conference of Executives of Historical Agencies (Midwest Historical Conference) met in Chicago, Friday and Saturday, February 26-27, sponsored by Herbert A. Kellar, Director of the McCormick Historical Association, Douglas C. McMurtrie of the Chicago Historical Society, Russell M. Anderson of the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, and William W. Sweet of the American Society of Church History. The conference opened Friday morning with a round-table discussion of "Editorial Practice," led by Wendell H. Stephenson of Louisiana State University. "The Historical Records Survey" was presented by Luther H. Evans, National Director, at a luncheon held at the Quadrangle Club, University of Chicago. Friday afternoon, M. Llewellyn Raney, Director of the University of Chicago Libraries, discussed "Micro-photography." "The National Archives" constituted the round-table topic at the dinner Friday evening, led by Solon J. Buck, Director of Publications.

At the Saturday morning session, Robert C. Binkley of Western Reserve University led a discussion on "The Newspaper Digest." "American Imprints"

was the subject of a luncheon address by Douglas C. McMurtrie, and the "Survey of Federal Archives" was discussed by Philip M. Hamer, National Director, at the afternoon session. Upon the adjournment of this session, M. Edwin O'Neill, instructor in police science at the Northwestern University crime detection laboratory, demonstrated methods of restoring faded, erased, and altered manuscripts. The conference closed with a buffet supper at the home of Douglas C. McMurtrie, at which there was a "Report on Destruction of Historical Records in the Flood Area." W. D. Overman, Regional Director for the Survey of Federal Archives in Ohio, explained the losses in Southern Ohio and Indiana, and Alston G. Field, State Supervisor of the Historical Records Survey in Illinois, delineated the effects of the flood in Southern Illinois.

At the March monthly meeting of the Filson Club, Dr. William C. Mallalieu of the University of Louisville delivered an address on the "Origins of the University of Louisville." The address is a part of his forthcoming book on the history of the Louisville institution.

The Oklahoma Historical Society held its annual meeting April 22 and 23, at the Oklahoma College for Women at Chickasha. Judge Robert L. Williams presented some "Reminiscences" and told the "Story of the Origin of Oklahoma College for Women," and Captain W. S. Nye of Fort Sill discussed the "Battle of Wichita Village." A session was devoted to "Local Grady County Area History," and the society made a tour of the Anadarko historical sites.

On February 22 the cornerstone of the new Hall of History of the Wachovia Historical Society was laid in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The three-story brick building, constructed with the aid of a Public Works Administration loan, will cost over \$30,000 and is expected to be completed before the end of the year. It will be the property of the city, but the society will maintain it.

The ninety-eighth annual meeting of the Georgia Historical Society was held at Savannah, February 17. The annual address, "The Constitution of Georgia," was read by T. M. Cunningham, president of the society, and a paper on "The Constitution of the United States" was presented by Charles D. Russell. The following officers were elected: Leonard L. Mackall, president; A. B. Lovett and Alexander R. MacDonell, vice-presidents; Charles F. Groves, secretary-treasurer; and Ola M. Wyeth, librarian.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

The *Report of the Virginia State Library for the Year Ending June 30, 1936* (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1936, pp. 16), reveals that the Archives Division acquired 259 volumes of records from the state comptroller's office, the first deed book of Prince William County (May, 1731-

March, 1732), two volumes of Charles City County tax records (1812-1813), some 100 Civil War letters from soldiers of Fluvanna County, the Angus W. MacDonald Papers, and an account book of James Morrison. The report also states that the marriage bonds of Surry, Greensville, Goochland, and Botetourt counties are being indexed and recorded, that several volumes of county and church records have been photostated, and that the work of "restoring" 26 volumes of manuscript records was completed during the year.

According to the *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1936, pp. 31), the following new collections have been received, July 1, 1934-June 30, 1936: Alonzo T. and Millard Mial Papers, 1830-1897; Walter F. Woodard Collection, 1918; Richard D. White Collection, 1751-1929; Mrs. L. E. Lansdell Papers, 1850-1877; Lambeth Papers, 1851-1860; Mrs. Benjamin R. Lacy Papers, 1893; W. O. Wooten Collection, 1847, 1876; James Herring Collection, 1764-1917; Mrs. A. B. Hunter Collection; Charles Francis Jenkins Papers, 1786-1808; J. W. Atkins Collection, 1837-1896; Charles A. Anderton Papers; Robert L. Adams Collection (William Maclean journal), 1811; Raleigh Banking and Trust Company Papers; Lackland MacNeill Papers, 1784-1785; Mrs. M. S. Griggs Papers, 1831-1861; Stuart Hill Collection; Thad P. Hall Collection, 1856-1900; Calvin J. Cowles Papers, 1824-1885; J. P. Clark Papers, 1859-1862; and Badgett Papers, 1772-1889. The acquisitions also include sundry diaries, account books, miscellaneous items, and additions to collections already in possession of the commission.

Recent additions to the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina Library: record and diary of "Gowrie" plantation on the Savannah River, owned by Louis Maniqualt, 5 volumes; diary of Colonel Taylor Beatty (1837-1920) of Thibodeaux, Louisiana, 1863-1865, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1891, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1916, 9 volumes; diary and record of "Bayside" plantation on Bayou Teche, Louisiana, for 1860-1866 (supplementing a volume for 1846-1852, already in the collection), 1 volume; plantation diary and record of Captain John Nevitt, U. S. N., Retired, of "Clermont," Adams County, Mississippi, for 1826-1832, 1 volume; diary of Miss Mary Bateman of "Argyle," Washington County, Mississippi, 1 volume; diary of Dr. Henry Y. Webb of Eutaw, Alabama, while a student at the University of North Carolina, 1843-1846, 1 volume; diary of George A. Mercer of Georgia, 1851-1855, 1855-1860, 1862-1863, 1864-1865, 4 volumes; plantation diary and account book of William Ervin of Lowndes County, Mississippi, 1846-1858, 1 volume; diary of General Jeremy F. Gilmer, C. S. A., for 1841-1842, while an officer in the United States army, 1 volume; pocket diary of J. C. C. Black of Augusta, Georgia, as a member of the 9th Kentucky Cavalry, C. S. A., during the Atlanta campaign of 1864, 1 volume; diary of Everard Green Baker (1826-1890) of Jefferson County,

Mississippi, 1849-1875, 2 volumes; autobiography and diary of Mrs. Eliza I. Clitherall of Smithville, North Carolina, and Montgomery, Alabama, 1753-1860, 16 volumes; a considerable collection of the papers of Captain Edward M. L'Engle (1834-1890) of Jacksonville, Florida. Large additions have also been added to the Mordecai Papers and the Guion Papers.

Recent acquisitions of the Oklahoma Historical Society include: archives from the state banking department and from the state department of education; a ton and a half of Oklahoma City records; a collection of manuscript materials from the Union Soldiers' Home at Oklahoma City; around two tons of county records from the Murray County courthouse at Sulphur; the loan of a handsome set of antique furniture and other interesting museum objects; another loan including a set of autographs of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Isaac Newton, and other distinguished people.

The National Archives has recently acquired the records of the United States railroad administration, 1918 to the present; the records of the naval intelligence office of the department of the navy, including letterpress copies of despatches to and from naval attachés at Berlin, Paris, and London, 1882-1910; records of the collector of customs for the port of New York, 1830-1875, formerly in the Library of Congress; and form schedules for the 1920 census and the agricultural census of 1925. Recent accessions also include motion pictures and sound recordings from the department of agriculture extension service and the Federal housing administration, and photographic film from war department air corps and the navy department hydrographic office.

The *Second Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1936* (pp. 109), contains the reports of the several offices and divisions of the National Archives; a "Report of the National Historical Publications Commission Recommending A Publication on the Ratification of the Constitution"; and a "Report of the National Director of the Survey of Federal Archives [outside of Washington]."

"The National Archives of the United States" (National Archives *Bulletins*, No. 1, November, 1936), "is concerned both with the national archives as a body of records and with The National Archives as an institution." The functions of the National Archives are outlined and the groups which the institution is designed to serve are indicated. A report of the conference of archivists at Chattanooga, December 28, 1935, and a paper by Theodore C. Blegen on "Problems of American Archivists" appear as National Archives *Bulletins*, No. 2 (November, 1936).

*The Washingtons and Their Colonial Homes in West Virginia* (Charles Town: Jefferson Publishing Company, n.d. pp. 30), by Mynna Thruston, con-

tains sketches of members of the Washington family, some interesting but poorly printed illustrations, and an insert, "Descent of the Washingtons who Inherited Mount Vernon."

*The Beginnings of Printing in West Virginia* (Charleston: Press of Charleston High School, 1935, pp. 20), by Douglas C. McMurtrie, traces the history of the press "in what is now West Virginia" from 1790 to 1831. According to McMurtrie, the first press was established at Shepherdstown where "Nathaniel Willis began to print the *Potowmac Guardian, and Berkeley Advertiser* about November 1, 1790" (p. 6). *West Virginia Imprints* (Charleston: Charleston High School Print Shop, 1936, pp. 24), also compiled by Mr. McMurtrie, is "a first list of books, pamphlets and broadsides printed within the area now constituting the state of West Virginia—1791-1830."

*Wage and Hour Legislation for the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937, pp. 26), by H. M. Douty, is Number 9 of the "Southern Policy Papers." It considers "The Problem of Labor Standards," "Southern Agriculture and the Industrial Labor Supply," "Labor Standards and Industrial Stability," "Minimum Wage Experience in the United States," "Wages, Hours, and Labor Productivity," "The Constitutional Issue," and suggests "What Can be Done."

The Susquehanna University *Studies* (Vol. I, No. 2, January, 1937, pp. 51-62), includes "The Influence of the Methodist Press Upon Radical Reconstruction (1865-68)," by William A. Russ, Jr. He concludes "that the Methodist journals (and therefore the Methodist Church) exerted a powerful, if imponderable, influence in favor of radicalism during the early years of reconstruction. . . . It is obvious that when the Methodist Church is placed first in the list of Johnson's opponents, Methodism cannot be forgotten in any explanation of the reign of radicalism at the North after the Civil War" (p. 62).

*The Cotton South and American Trade Policy* (New York: National Peace Conference, 1936, pp. 63), by Peter Molyneaux, is Number 17 of "World Affairs Books." The author shows the need of, and appeals for, a better understanding and readjustment of the foreign trade policy of the United States.

*The Fifties—Nashville's Great Decade*, by A. L. Crabb, is reprinted from the February, 1937, issue of the *Peabody Reflector*. "The decade following 1850 was in many ways the most brilliant of Nashville's career. . . . It was as if Destiny, perceiving the end of a civilization, had decreed that it should go out in a blaze of glory." The study presents Nashville's resources and culture before the "brilliance of the Fifties had shaded into the shadows of the Götterdämmerung."

*The First Printing in Kentucky* (Louisville: C. T. Dearing Printing Company, 1936, pp. 57), by Willard Rouse Jillson, is a very attractive booklet subtitled "Some Account of Thomas Parvin and John Bradford and the Establishment of the Kentucky Gazette in Lexington in the year 1787, with a Bibliography and Seventy Titles." The section devoted to "Thomas Parvin—First Printer in Kentucky," which definitely establishes his association with Bradford in the pioneer days of the *Kentucky Gazette*, is reprinted from the *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* (October, 1936).

Several of the studies on religious history contained in *Franciscan History of North America*, edited by Claude Vogel, should be of interest to Southern historians. Among these papers, which were read at the eighteenth annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, are: "Franciscan Historians of North America," by John M. Lenhart; "The Franciscans in New Spain, 1522-1600," by Joseph Thompson; "The Franciscans in the Spanish Southwest," by Bonaventure Oblasser; "Spanish Franciscans in the Southeast," by Diomede Pohlkamp; "New France, III: The Capuchins of Lower Louisiana," by Claude Vogel; "Franciscans in the English Colonies," by Oliver Murray; "The Franciscan Martyrs of North America," by Marion Habig; and "The Franciscan Historian and History Writing," by Maynard Geiger.

*The Legislation of the Civil-War Period Considered as a Basis of the Agricultural Revolution in the United States* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1937, pp. 160), by Arnold Tilden, constitutes the University of Southern California School of Research Studies Number Fifteen. Admitting that research in the Civil War and Reconstruction period has been fruitful in productivity, the author asserts that, "with few exceptions, all works, whether short surveys or exhaustive studies, covering the period . . . minimize or exclude entirely the economic causes and results of legislation in order to detail the more spectacular political and military history of the period. This universal disregard of the development of those forces responsible for the present industrial society, with its grandeur and its squalor, aroused in the author the desire to determine, if possible, the legislative influences which gave rise to modern America." A companion study, it is announced, will treat the Industrial Revolution.

*The Reorganization and Consolidation of State Administration in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1937, pp. 270), by R. L. Carleton and staff, is the first survey project of the newly established Bureau of Government Research, Louisiana State University. The study "includes an analysis of the problem, a comparative study of what has been accomplished along this line in other states, a detailed explanation of the present Administrative System of Louisiana, and alternative proposals for the reorganization and consolidation of the System" (p. 4).

*The Southwest in International Affairs* (Dallas: Published for the Institute of Public Affairs by the Arnold Foundation, Southern Methodist University, 1936, pp. 218) is "divided into three parts which deal, respectively, with the Southwest and World Trade, Our Relations with Latin America, and Broader Phases of Our Foreign Policy." The papers in this volume "include the principal addresses delivered, along with the remarks of discussion leaders" of the third annual conference of the Institute of Public Affairs of Southern Methodist University.

*A Brief Biography of Booker Washington* (Hampton, Va.: Hampton Institute Press, 1936, pp. 42), by Anson Phelps Stokes, reviews Washington's early years, his educational experience at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, the achievements at Tuskegee, Alabama, and his significant speeches. A brief introduction to the booklet was prepared by President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina.

Two numbers of *Southern Sketches* (First Series) have been issued recently (1936) by the Historical Publishing Company, Charlottesville. As with previous numbers, both have been brought out under the general editorship of Dr. J. D. Eggleston. *State Socialism in the Confederate States of America* (No. 9, pp. 31), by Louise B. Hill, states that "The experiment of 1864-65, by which the Confederate government controlled all foreign commerce, was unique in that it was devised and successfully carried on by state rights Southerners, in whom agrarian experience coupled with Jeffersonian philosophy had developed to a high degree an unwavering devotion to the policy of laissez faire. . . . Rugged individualism disputed every step, hampered its operation at every turn, and in the end destroyed it, leaving the Confederacy stripped of its last financial resource" (pp. 3, 4). In *Republican Newspapers of South Carolina* (No. 10, pp. 60), Robert H. Woody traces the attempts of Republicans to control the press and public opinion in South Carolina during the Civil War and Reconstruction. He concludes that "Outside of the state the Republican papers had an indeterminable influence. They circulated in the North and likely counteracted to some degree the violent Democratic criticism of the Reconstruction government. Some of them had Northern agents and frequently copies of the lesser known papers are more easily found in the North than in the South. In any event, this Republican experiment in propaganda, considering the course which South Carolina took after Reconstruction and the sudden collapse of the Republican press, although generously supported for several years previously, must be put down definitely as a failure" (pp. 59-60).

*European Missions in Texas* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1936, pp. 136), by John A. Held, is a story of Baptist missionary work among European groups in Texas.

*Three Decades of Progress: Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College, 1906-1936* (Richmond: Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College, 1936, edited by Jonathan T. Dorris, is available at \$1.00 in cloth and 50 cents in paper binding, postpaid.

*Southern Treasury of Life and Literature* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937, xviii, 748), selected by Stark Young, is an anthology of Southern literary selections from William Byrd to Allen Tate. The compiler included those "usually found in anthologies of Southern literature," but he also chose many others "largely because of the manner in which they bear on some aspect of the South, express in some way the Southern quality, tradition or atmosphere." Typical of the material in the volume are William C. Preston's "Reminiscences," Tyrone Power's "Theatre at Natchez," Henderson Yoakum's "The Fall of the Alamo," Ulrich B. Phillips' "Passages on Slavery," Henry Timrod's "The Cotton-Boll," Sidney Lanier's "The Marshes of Glynn," Henry W. Grady's "The Wounded Soldier," and John Gould Fletcher's "The Old South." The work of each author is preceded by a brief biographical sketch.

Articles on the Upper South: "Rise of Industry in Ante-Bellum Petersburg," by Edward A. Wyatt, IV, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (January); "Encouragement of Immigration As Revealed in Colonial Legislation," by Erna Risch, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January); "Gold Mining: A Forgotten Industry of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," by Fletcher M. Green, "Claude Kitchin Versus the Patrioteers," by Alex Mathews Arnett, and "A Slave Owner and His Overseers," by Charles S. Sydnor, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January); "A Day and Night with 'Old Davy'; David R. Atchison," by Walter B. Stevens, "The Battle of Carthage," by Ward L. Schrantz, and "Missouri, 1804-1828: Peopling a Frontier State," by Hattie M. Anderson, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (January); "A Federal Experiment in Southern Plains Indian Relations, 1835-1845," by C. C. Rister, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (December).

Documents and compilations on the Upper South: "The Lost Clergy List of 1758," contributed by C. G. Chamberlayne, "Inventory of the Estate of William Rind," "Lewis Hughes' 'Plaine and True Relation of the Goodnes of God Towards the Sommer Islands,'" edited by W. F. Craven, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (January); "Notes from the Records of Stafford County, Virginia, Order Books," continued, "Diary of Col. William Bolling of Bolling Hall," concluded, notes by R. A. Lancaster, Jr., "Letters from Old Trunks [Letters from John Cropper, Jr.]," and "Edmund Randolph's Essay on the Revolutionary History of Virginia, 1774-1782," concluded, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January); "Letter-Book of Mills and Hicks, August 13th, 1781, to August 22nd, 1784," edited by Robert E.

Moody and Charles C. Crittenden, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January); "The Letters of Honorable John Brown to the Presidents of the United States," edited by James A. Padgett, and "Tuckahoe and the Tuckahoe Randolphs," by Jefferson Randolph Anderson, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (January); "Brief Sketches of the Filson Club's Publications and Its History Quarterly, with a General Index to Their Chief Topics," compiled by Otto A. Rothert, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (January).

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## CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES S. SYDNOR is associate professor of history at Duke University.

FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS is professor of history at Virginia State Teachers College, Farmville.

J. CARLYLE SITTERSON is instructor of history at the University of North Carolina.

MACK SWEARINGEN is associate professor of history at Tulane University.

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, III, is professor of history at Hamilton College.

P. L. RAINWATER is professor of history at the University of Mississippi.

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